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Mary and the Magi

SAINT EPHRAEM

Father and Doctor of the Church

Prologue

WHEN the Son was born a light appeared and darkness fled from the world and the whole world was illumined. Now let the earth give glory to the Splendor of the Father who brought it the light.

From the Virgin's womb He rose and shadows faded when He was seen, and the gloom of error was dispelled by Him as the far horizons shone with splendor to give Him glory.

Great was the tumult among the nations, and in the darkness the Light appeared and the gentiles rejoiced to give glory to Him who by His birth had given light to all.

His light flamed in the eastern sky and Persia was illumined by the Star. It was the dawn of her hope, the dawn of her time when He should come to sacrifice, offering the joyous Passover for all.

The shining Star glowed as it went through the dark and called to

* Saint Ephraem, Father and Doctor of the Universal Church, was born at Nisibis in Mesopotamia about the year 306. He died in 373. Famous for his hymns and sermons, he wrote and preached in the ancient Syro-Chaldaic language, which is identical with the Aramaic spoken by Our Lady. This translation was made by the Rev. John J. Scanlon, S.J., associate editor of *America*, from the original text as found in *Sancti Ephraemi Syri, Hymni et Sermones*, ed. Thomas Joseph Lamy, Vol. I, Col. 129 sq.

the gentiles to come and enjoy the great light that had come down to the earth.

Heaven had sent as a legate one of the stars to bring a message to the sons of Persia to come and meet the King and adore Him.

Great Assyria when she saw it called to the Magi and said to them: "Take gifts and go and show honor to the great King who has appeared in Juda."

The princes of Persia rejoicing carried a load of gifts from their land and brought to the Son of the Virgin gold and myrrh and incense.

They enter and find Him a child who dwells in the home of a poor little maiden. They draw near and fall on their knees rejoicing. And they lay their treasures before Him.

Dialogue

Mary: For whom are these and why? What is the occasion that has called you to come from your land with your gifts to the Child?

Magi: Thy Son is the King and has joined the crowns and is King of all. Great is His rule over the world and all shall hearken unto His Kingdom.

Mary: When did this ever happen that a poor little maid should give birth to a king? For I am poor and needy and how could a king come from me?

Magi: To thee alone has this happened that a great King should come from thee. For poverty in thee has been exalted and to thy Son crowns shall be made subject.

Mary: I do not have the treasure of kings. Riches have never been my lot. My house is poor and my dwelling destitute. Why then do you herald my Son as a King?

Magi: Thy Son is the great Treasure. His riches are enough to make everyone rich. For the treasures of kings are impoverished, but His is measureless and does not fail.

Mary: Search and see if some other one be that King of yours who is born. For this is the son of a poor little maid who is not likely to see a king.

Magi: Would it ever be possible for the light that was sent to lose its way? Darkness did not call and bring us here. In the light we walked. And the King is thy Son!

Mary: Look! You see a little child who cannot talk. The home of His mother is destitute and empty. The trappings of a king are not in it and how can a king appear there?

Magi: Yes, we see that the King cannot talk. And He is quiet and humble as thou hast said. But again we have seen the stars on high hasten to announce His coming.

Mary: Men, you ought to find out who is the King and then adore, that you may not stray from the path and find another to be the King who is born.

Magi: Maiden, thou shouldst take our word that we have learned that thy Son is the King from the shining Star that does not err. Plain was the road along which it brought us.

Mary: Tiny is the baby boy. See, He has neither the crown nor the throne of a king. What then do you see that you should honor Him as King with your treasures?

Magi: He is tiny because He willed to be meek and humble now until He shall be manifested. But there will come the time when every crown shall bow before Him and adore Him.

Mary: My Son has no armed forces, no legions and companies. He dwells in the poor condition of His mother. Why then is He called King by you?

Magi: The armed forces of thy Son are above. They ride through the heights scattering fiery rays, and one of them it was that came and called us, and all our land was terrified.

Mary: A new-born babe is He. How do you explain that He is a King unknown to the world? And how can a little boy rule over the powerful and the famous?

Magi: Thy little boy is old, O Virgin, and the Ancient of Days, and is exalted over all. Even Adam is much younger than He. And through Him all things created are made new.

Mary: You surely ought to explain the whole mystery and make plain who revealed to you the mystery of my Son who is King in your territory.

Magi: Thou, too, shouldst acknowledge that unless the truth had

brought us we never would have journeyed hither from the borders of our land for the sake of thy Son.

Mary: Tell me the whole mystery as it happened among you there in your land; tell me now as friends. Who was it that called you that you might come to me?

Magi: A great Star appeared to us which was far more glorious than other stars and our land was set ablaze with its light, and it told us that the King had appeared.

Mary: I do not wish that you relate these things in our land lest the kings of earth learn of them and plot against the Child out of envy.

Magi: Fear not, O Virgin, for thy Son shall set at nought all crowns and shall put them under His heel, and when they envy they do no harm to Him.

Mary: I am fearful of Herod, the unclean wolf, lest he frighten me and draw his sword and with it cut off the sweet fruit of the Vine before it has ripened.

Magi: Be not afraid of Herod, for his throne is placed there through thy Son. When once thy Son shall reign, Herod's rule shall be overthrown, and his crown shall fall down to the earth.

Mary: Jerusalem is a torrent of blood. There good men are put to death. Should there be a rumor about the boy there will be a raid against Him. Talk in secret and do not make a noise.

Magi: Torrents and swords shall all be made to cease through the power of thy Son. The sword of Jerusalem is blunted and has not the will to kill.

Mary: The Scribes and priests of Jerusalem are shedding blood and do not notice it. They are stirring up a deadly strife against me and against the little boy. Magi, please be quiet.

Magi: The Scribes and the priests can do no harm to thy Son with their envy, for He will abolish their priesthood and cancel their festivals.

Mary: The Angel revealed to me when I conceived the Child that my Son was the King and that His Kingdom was from on high and would not end. This he manifested to me as he did to you.

Magi: The Angel, then, about whom thou speakest is the one who came as the Star and appeared to us also and announced that He is greater and more glorious than the stars.

Mary: The Angel who appeared to me at the Annunciation explained

that there would be no end to His Kingdom and bade me keep the secret which was not to be revealed.

Magi: The Star also explained to us that thy Son was to hold the Kingdom. It was really the Angel. His appearance was altered but he did not let us know.

Mary: When the Angel appeared to me he called my Son his Lord even before He was conceived, and he declared Him to be the Son of the Most High, but he did not tell me where His Father was.

Magi: It was as a star that the Angel announced to us that He who is born is the Lord of the heavens, that thy Son rules over the stars, and unless He commands they do not rise.

Mary: Now let other secrets be made known in your presence so that they can be confirmed: It was as a Virgin that I gave birth to the Son, and He is the Son of God. Go and preach that.

Magi: The Star had already taught us that His birth was high above the order of this world; and that thy Son is above all creation; and that He is the Son of God as thou hast said.

Mary: The heights and the depths bear Him witness, as do all the angels and the stars, that He is the Son of God and Lord. Spread His tidings in your lands!

Magi: All the heavens by one Star have made known to Persia, and it has been confirmed, that thy Son is the Son of God and all the gentiles have been made subject to Him.

Mary: Bring back peace to your lands; may peace be multiplied within your boundaries. May you be believed as apostles of truth in all the journey that you shall have made.

Magi: The peace of the Son is that which will bring us back in tranquillity to our own country just as it brought us hither; and when His rule has taken over the world may He visit our land and give it His blessing.

Mary: May Persia rejoice in your message; may Assyria be joyous at your return; and when the Kingdom of my Son shall rise, may He place His standard in your territory.

Epilogue

Let the Church chant with gladness: Glory to the Son of the Most High from whom the heights and depths receive their light. Blessed be He whose birth has given a joyous holy day for all.

The Phantom of "Popism"

NORBERT MUHLEN

*Reprinted from the NEW LEADER**

AGITATION against Catholics is on the increase among certain sections of our population; the slogan of the "Catholic menace" to American democracy has been gaining ground in recent years. The campaign started in the columns of the *Nation* in the late 1940s. There the magazine's one-time associate editor, Paul Blanshard, an Ohio-born former Congregational clergyman, published several series of articles attacking the Catholic Church, its doctrines and its aims. Subsequently, he wrote a book, *American Freedom and Catholic Power*, which sold 200,000 copies and convinced many readers that Catholicism was a threat to the American way. His second book, *Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power*, went a step further; it proclaimed that this Catholic danger was worldwide, presenting a "deadly parallel" to world Communism. Blanshard's message is promoted by such nationwide organizations as Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, and is backed, officially or unofficially, by a number of other groups, mainly of "non-Communist liberal" coloration.

The anti-Catholic campaign is noth-

ing new in the United States. There have been attacks on "Popism," "Romanism," "Popery" and "Catholic Power" for more than a hundred years. Mass Catholic immigration (mostly from Ireland) preceded Jewish immigration by half a century, and so anti-Catholicism in this country is even older than anti-Semitism. (The two were soon to be merged by "100 per cent American" crusaders against religious and ethnic minorities.) The anti-Catholic battle-cry was raised in times of insecurity, from the Native American party (founded in 1848) to the United American party (better known as the Know-Nothings), to the latter-day Order of the Ku Klux Klan, which between 1920 and 1925 had more than 4,000,000 members.

"The Klan," historians Oscar and Mary F. Handlin report, "found its leading antagonist in the Pope; in that respect it fell into the tradition of confusing issues by identifying Catholicism with internationalism. But it had hatred enough left over for the Jews, also touched by international affiliations, and for the Negroes who were vulnerable enough not to need a pretext."

Quite independently from these hate movements, there has been a lib-

* 7 E. 15th St., New York 3, N. Y., Sept. 17, 1951.

ertarian anti-Catholic tradition with roots, ideas and methods of its own. This movement of liberal intellectuals grew from their secular belief in freedom as an end in itself, and their aversion toward religion in general—which, they sensed, presented itself in its most radical form in the Catholic faith. What the Catholics are bound to hold as objective Truth—that there is a personal God, and that man owes Him obedience and love—offended their agnostic thinking. This intellectual protest against Catholicism, which often clashed with secularistic modernism, found many opportunities to manifest itself in the life of the community.

THE BIRTH OF "BLANSHARDISM"

Only now have these two old trends of American anti-Catholicism, with their different spokesmen and attitudes, merged into a new anti-Catholicism, which we might call Blanshardism. The crusading bigotry, the scare-mongering misconceptions and the anti-minority stereotypes of the Know-Nothings are being adopted by liberal intellectuals. While they continue to oppose anti-Semitic and anti-Negro Know-Nothingism, and remain defenders of democracy, they are anti-Catholic because they consider Catholicism a primary threat to democracy.

What is curious about the new, liberal-tinted anti-Catholicism is that this great Catholic menace to democ-

racy has been discovered so recently. A short while ago, in the days of the "United Front" and the "Wartime Alliance," when the rally of "all anti-Fascist forces" was the liberal and Communist order of the day, "the progressive Catholics" were highly honored partners of the Communists and "non-Communist liberals." The Communists even founded a "Catholic Committee for Human Rights" front. The sudden discovery of the Catholic menace came about only when the cold war with the Soviets grew hotter, when the Catholics appeared in powerful opposition to Stalin, and when resistance to Communist aggression became a matter of life and death for this country. The anti-Catholic resistance of "non-Communist liberals" was strangely timed to coincide with the anti-Communist resistance of the free world.

In this manner, the new anti-Catholic crusade strongly recalls the sudden rise in anti-Semitic agitation in this country between 1934 and Pearl Harbor. Although the first was mainly supported by "the Left," and the second by "the Right," there are deadly parallels between them.

"As the prospect of war became more real, month after month in 1941, many well-meaning people, committed to keeping this country neutral, succumbed to the temptation of using a fictitious Jewish issue for their own ends," the Handlins report.

The same situation prevails today, with the Catholics substituted for the Jews as targets. Even the arguments used seem intrinsically alike. Then it was discovered that the Jews stood for the same things as the Nazis, considering themselves a "Chosen People" and believing in racism. Today, it is being discovered that Catholics stand for the same things as the Communists—totalitarian world rule and the suppression of the free mind. In both cases, the equation was a big half-truth, which is not very far from a lie. The effect of the half-truth was to make Americans slacken their resistance to the clear and present totalitarian danger—in 1940, to Hitler, in 1950, to Stalin.

Second, it was said that only because the Nazis persecuted the Jews (who had it coming to them, since they had always been enemies of the people), the American Jews were trying to push America into war with Germany. Those who propounded this line suppressed the fact that the Nazis also persecuted Catholics and Protestants, and that for America the only alternatives were surrender or resistance to Hitler. Now it is being said that only because the Communists persecute the Catholics in East Europe (who have it coming to them, since they have always been enemies of the people), the Catholic hierarchy is trying to push America into war with Russia. (That is the implication of Mr. Blanshard's latest book.)

Those who propound this line suppress the fact that the Communists also persecute Jews, Orthodox believers and Protestants, and that for America the only alternatives are surrender or resistance to Stalin. The effect of this campaign is to make Americans forget that the Communists are responsible for our principal world tensions. By making Catholics appear equally responsible, an easy escape route is opened for those who do not want to resist Communism.

Thirdly, people were told that the Jews were alien in their ways, without regard for democratic life, and eager to take power in this country, if not throughout the world. This Jewish "conspiracy," as dangerous as that of the Nazis, now finds its successor in a Catholic "threat" as great as that of the Communists. In both cases, half-truths, distortions and lies yield a weird mixture of prejudice and misconception. The effect was—and is—to divide America against itself, and thus to attack from within the democratic spirit which the enemy's power attacks from without. The other effect was—and is—that a clear and present danger of gigantic proportions is equated with something which (whatever you think of it) cannot be compared with it in quality or quantity.

A NEW INGREDIENT

But today's anti-Catholic crusade has another ingredient, which was

lacking in the anti-Semitic crusade of the 1930s. In France and Italy, parties with a predominantly Catholic program, leadership and ideology bear the main burden of resisting the Cominform. In Austria and West Germany, this resistance is carried on in about equal parts by the Social Democrats and the Christian Democrats (mainly Catholics). If anti-Catholic crusaders tell us that the Catholics are enemies, not allies, and that Catholic parties are hardly better than Communist parties, then their advice means that America must stop cooperating with them, must desert them. Such advice, if followed, would clearly deliver West Europe to the Communists without a fight.

Neither Stalin nor the Pope share the Blanshardist view that Catholicism and Communism show "deadly parallels" as "power systems." At the Teheran Conference, Churchill advised a second front in Southern Europe because of the strength of the Catholic Church in that area; Stalin asked contemptuously, "And how many divisions has the Pope?" Churchill later told this to Pius XII, who said, "Please tell my son Joseph that he will meet my divisions in eternity."

Group prejudice (as a wealth of psychological and sociological studies of anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism reveal) is rooted more deeply in the situation of those who are prejudiced than in the positions the attacked groups actually take. Attacks against

groups do not need factual substantiation, even though they are accompanied by impressive compendia of half-truths. When insecurity seeks a scapegoat, it is certain to find it, no matter how the majority of the scapegoated group thinks, acts and reacts. The Catholic fills the bill as scapegoat for certain "non-Communist liberals," just as the Jew did for certain isolationists. The motives, mechanisms and results are much the same.

TOWARD TOTALITARIANISM

Blanshardism, or the insinuation that Communism and Catholicism are equally menacing to American democracy, has little in common with honest differences of opinion or even actual controversies between spokesmen for the Church and for other American views and interests. Such controversies—whether they are philosophical apologetics and counter-apologetics, or political fights on certain topical issues—can be quite healthy for the pluralistic society which is America. Catholic dissent from secular trends, and liberal opposition to Catholic demands, will probably go on as long as America is not a totalitarian state. But the attempt to defame, discriminate against and suppress minorities is always a step toward totalitarianism.

If "non-Communist liberals," who refuse to accept other crusades against minorities, now accept Blanshardism, the reason may well be

that it supplies an escape from their dilemma. Unwilling to face the fact that Communism is the clear and present danger and they have to resist it with all their energies, they fall easy prey to anti-Catholic hatemongers. Know-Nothingism directed against the Church is often a mask for Do-Nothingism toward the Kremlin. By releasing their aggressions against the phantom Catholic danger, the "non-Communist liberals" avoid resisting the real and present Com-

munist danger that threatens every one of us, Catholics and non-Catholics alike.

At a time when many former fellow travelers of Communism pretend to be anti-Communists, without wanting to resist it seriously, the phantom of "Catholic power" fulfills the same phony function as the phantom of "Jewish power" did before Pearl Harbor—it opens the way for appeasement of the attacking totalitarian enemy.



Art, Mirror of Life

If what Maritain has said is true, that "the art of a period carries with it all the intellectual and spiritual stuff which constitutes the life of the period," can we then be satisfied with our life? What can we say of ourselves? Considering what might have been done, what has needed doing, we have indeed accomplished little. If what we are willing to exhibit today is representative of our intellectual and spiritual life, how empty must we be! Our two most widely-read native authors are Erle Stanley Gardner, a writer of detective-mystery stories, and Erskine Caldwell, a man who ornaments Southern folk-lore with his own brand of obscenity and exaggeration.—*Robert Lowell in TODAY, October, 1951.*

Not Merely Passengers

Don't let us make any mistake about it; we are in danger, we modern Catholics, of living on our capital. Everything is made so easy for us; our non-Catholic neighbors are so friendly and so tolerant; so many newspapers and books are produced for our special entertainment, so many churches and schools compete for our patronage; everything is laid on, isn't it? What remains, but to sit back and enjoy ourselves? To be Sunday Catholics, to be passengers in the Barque of Peter? But that is not the moral, for us, of the Festival of Britain. As Catholics, no less than as English people, we are concerned to praise famous men that went before us; and we shall do that best, not by accepting, passively, the position they bequeathed to us, but by putting our shoulders to the wheel as they did, leaving some mark of our own on the page of history, to the glory of Almighty God.—*Monsignor R. A. Knox in THE TABLET, London, Sept. 29, 1951.*

The Rising Tide of Native Bigotry

DAN HERR

*Reprinted from THE VOICE OF ST. JUDE**

AS I write this review, a mob of bigots is stoning the home of a Negro family who dared to move into a heretofore sacred lily-white Chicago suburb. I wonder if perhaps we American Catholics shall not live to see the day when we, too, will know the fury of the mob. For some unexplainable reason many of us seem to feel that American Catholics have earned the right to be spared persecution and suffering for our faith. If we have been deluded into believing that no anti-Catholic force exists in America—a force ready and willing to incite the mobs—it's time we faced up to the unpleasant truth.

I have just finished reading *Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power* by Paul Blanshard, the latest broadside in the war against the Church in America. As I read, my thoughts kept turning to the besieged Negro couple whose basic rights are being denied because their white fellow-citizens have been infected with an irrational fear of the Negro.

If so-called freedom loving Americans can so far forget justice and charity as to indulge in mob violence when a Negro family exercises a basic freedom, almost unimaginable heights

of fanaticism can be anticipated if our non-Catholic fellow-citizens read and believe what Paul Blanshard writes about us and our religion.

This is the picture of American Catholics Paul Blanshard presents: We Catholics are opposed to democracy. We favor a totalitarian rule in which the basic liberties now enjoyed in America will be abolished. We are working actively to destroy the public-school system; to dominate the press, the radio and the movies; to infiltrate into unions and other vital organizations in order to seize power. We are suckers for fake cures, trumped-up relics and similar rackets. We are spoon-fed our thoughts on every subject by a power-thirsty gang of demagogues controlled by a foreign despot. We can have no mind of our own—our thinking is done for us and it's based on medieval ideas that have long since been proved false by modern science. We are bled poor to support a notoriously sub-standard school system, whose only purpose is to turn out more and more goose-steppers like us. We have no right to be called patriotic Americans. We have much in common with the Communists and are just as dangerous.

* 221 West Madison St., Chicago 80, Ill., September, 1951.

We represent a subversive alien force in America—a force which must be suppressed if America is to survive.

Fantastic? It could be dismissed in that fashion if Blanshard's previous diatribe had not sold 180,000 copies and if his newest blast were not high on the nation's best-seller lists. Laughable? Uproariously so, if Blanshard's views were not being read, discussed and accepted by thousands throughout the country—including our neighbors and our friends. And now there is a nation-wide campaign on to spread his message. The American Library Association selected *American Freedom and Catholic Power* as one of the fifty outstanding books of the year.

Disregarding scholarly criticism, Dr. John Haynes Holmes called it "accurate, sound in judgment, objective in spirit—a solid piece of work if I ever saw one."

Though equally distorted, the newest book has had an even better reception, with *Newsweek* praising Blanshard's "evident sincerity and considerable scholarship," and the *Saturday Review of Literature* recommending that it "ought to be read thoughtfully by every American." A pressure campaign by a weird conglomeration of reactionaries, liberals, left-wingers and a great many Protestant ministers is working hard to see that Blanshard's message does its worst.

I cannot, in these few brief columns, review Blanshard's books. Even if I wished to, I would in the space available be unable to answer all the charges, half-truths, deliberate misconceptions and smears made by Mr. Blanshard in 700 pages. Some of them, of course, answer themselves or are answered by the author in other parts of the book—for he is guilty of glaring contradictions and inconsistencies. Others can be answered without difficulty or are so full of venomous bigotry that they do not deserve an answer and would appeal to no clear-thinking or fair-minded American. Still other charges that are tossed off in a sentence or even a phrase would require a book to answer completely. (This shot-gun technique is a favorite with those who deal in smears.)

The thesis that Mr. Blanshard is expounding is that the Catholic Church is an alien fascist force which, by the direction of the Vatican and through the machinations of the hierarchy, is attempting to dominate American life. Furthermore, says Blanshard, "the Kremlin and the Vatican are far more conspicuous in their similarities than their differences."

QUOTATIONS FROM BLANSHARD'S BOOKS

I believe that Blanshard can be shown in his true light by giving you typical quotations from his books—quotations which need no comment

of mine to reveal their fallacy and their bigotry. First, from *American Freedom and Catholic Power*:

Pg. 39: "Most important of the devices of *priestly control* (a favorite phrase of Blanshard's—it is used throughout the book) is that of the confessional . . . Particularly when the penitent is a woman, her mind in the process of unburdening her regrets and worries is delivered, so to speak, wide-open to the priest . . . Is it surprising that, with such a perfect instrument for the control of conduct, the priest does not hesitate to extend the directive power of the confessional into the regions of politics, sociology and economics?"

Pg. 57: "Priests are not *always* (italics mine) responsible for the sins of their followers."

Pg. 215: "The most important and lucrative form of anti-science in the Church is the exploitation of miracles and relics . . . The Church . . . still operates a full blown system of fetishism and sorcery . . ."

Pg. 221: "The canonization of a saint is prodigiously expensive and it is surrounded with much formality and fuss. Many Catholic writers deplore the costly production methods, but they do not venture to describe the process as a scheme for exploiting the superstitions of the ignorant."

From *Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power*:

Pg. 76: "He (the Pope) is, in practice, one of the plural gods of the

Catholic system of power, and all the gods in the system, saints and popes, are skillfully used to hold the loyalty of the Catholic people to a great ecclesiastical enterprise."

Pg. 166: "But the so-called contemplative orders are scarcely above the level of juvenile escapism. In Trappist (Cistercian) monasteries, for example, apparently stable and able-bodied men withdraw from all social responsibilities for life and dedicate themselves 'silent in life-long penitential reparation for the sins of the world'."

Pg. 212: "As an institution in this world the Vatican has learned to manipulate and manage truth in strange ways in furthering its world-wide program. It has learned to shade history, exploit human ignorance, and disguise its undemocratic policies, all for the greater glory of truth as it is conceived by a hierarchy which accepts its chieftain as a fountain of truth."

Pg. 234: "Many intellectuals look upon the perpetuation of mental childhood among the Catholic masses with a kind of aloof tolerance as if it were quite harmless and slightly amusing and, in any case, none of their business."

Pg. 235: "The Italian Church's devices of deception in this field can be taken as the norm, since the Pope, as the primate of Italy, is personally responsible for the survivals of magic and sorcery in that country."

I could go on with page after page

of similar quotations, but I believe that even these few examples are sufficient to show the nature of these books and of the mentality that is attacking us today.

Do not be misled into believing that Mr. Blanshard is a lone voice in his present campaign against the Church. For several months I have been keeping a file of attacks made on the Church in the secular press and the folder is now sickeningly full.

HYSTERICAL BIGOTRY

A Masonic paper claims that most criminals in America are bred by Catholic schools, and demands that our schools be closed. A prominent clergyman demands that all Catholic priests be required to register as agents of a foreign government and urges the Attorney General to launch a grand jury investigation. An organization, Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of Church and State—whose very title is a slur against our patriotism—is campaigning to raise one million dollars for its fight against American Catholics. At a meeting in Washington, speakers warned that Catholics are a peril to tradition, liberty, and even survival. A noted Baptist clergyman, as reported by the *Chicago Daily News*, charged that "a recognized major aim of the Catholic

Church is to capture the United States and make it the base for controlling the world."

These are but a few voices in a well-organized chorus of hysteria.

The knowledge that such a force is actively working among us should be profoundly disturbing to every Catholic—and to every citizen, for that matter. From Catholics this knowledge should call forth an immediate strengthening of our faith—the last Mass-in-just-before-the-Gospel Sunday Catholic is no match for Blanshard—and it should persuade us to become informed Catholics. Remember that the vast majority of our fellow-Americans are still friendly and fair-minded. At present, Mr. Blanshard does not represent them. But they can be contaminated—as can luke-warm Catholics—with this poison, and they will be contaminated unless we so inform ourselves about the truths of our religion that we can refute the attacks that are being made. The caricature of Catholicism painted by Blanshard does not make a pretty picture, and it is small wonder that anyone who really believes it to be true looks with deep suspicion upon Catholics. Both by word and by deed, it is up to Catholics to show their still fair-minded neighbors what Blanshard's portrayal of the Church really is—a gross distortion.

Catholicism and Democracy

AVERY R. DULLES, S.J.

*Reprinted from SOCIAL ORDER**

THE erroneous views of Catholicism and its role in a free society, recently presented by Paul Blanshard, among others, seem to many readers searching and novel. Actually, however, they are little more than a revival of prejudices widely current among certain groups in the nineteenth century. The shallowness of those prejudices was effectively exposed at the time by the convert journalist, Orestes Brownson. In framing his reply to the Nativists and Know-Nothings, Brownson expounded a positive philosophy of government which is of interest today for its depth and originality as well as for its relevance to contemporary controversies.

Brownson's thought might be better known today had he been closely identified with any definite group or tradition. But he rarely worked in harmony with others. A gruff and outspoken Vermonter, he had nothing of the diplomat in his make-up. If anything, his taste and talent for controversy led him to exaggerate his differences with his adversaries. Having been for twenty years a socialistically inclined Protestant clergyman, he later, as a Catholic layman, bent every effort to refute the errors which

he had abjured. He never disguised his contempt for Protestant sects or his detestation for the new secular spirit which, in his opinion, was rapidly paganizing the nation.

Instead of appealing to the patriotic or humanitarian sympathies of his readers, he unashamedly professed that his first loyalty was to the kingdom of heaven. He would have considered it an indignity to defend Catholic principles merely on the ground of their utility to civil society.

Brownson's career of Catholic journalism extends over the thirty years from 1844, when he was received into the Church, until 1874, two years before his death. During this period, in addition to writing half a dozen books, he filled more than twenty volumes of *Brownson's Quarterly Review* with his personal comments on nearly all the burning religious, philosophical, social and literary questions of the day. He did valiant service in alerting his Catholic readers to the age's tendencies and in pointing out how they could best meet the challenge of recrudescent paganism. No problem, perhaps, had greater appeal to his practical and restless mind than did the com-

* 3655 West Pine Blvd., St. Louis 8, Mo., October, 1951.

plex issues of Church and State, of Catholicity and republican government. Here his learning, logic and eloquence appear to the greatest advantage.

If Brownson had believed that Catholicism was naturally affiliated with absolute government, he would not have hesitated to say so. If he had believed that American institutions were hostile to the best interests of the Church, he would have condemned Americanism in the boldest terms. But his study of political philosophy led him to the very opposite conclusion. He was persuaded that the true genius of American institutions was neither pagan nor sectarian, but specifically Catholic.

In answer to the Nativists, therefore, he was not content to prove that Catholic loyalty could be reconciled with sincere Americanism. He insisted that the Catholic view of man and the universe was the one indispensable support on which our national life depended. To the extent that the deposit of revealed doctrine was forgotten or obscured, he believed, our patriotic heritage was bound to disintegrate. Paradoxical as this thesis may sound to some, Brownson defended it with arguments of great solidity. It is therefore enlightening to reconsider, in the perspective of a century, his opinions on the relations of Catholicism to political freedom, on the union of Church and

State, and on the theological implications of the American experiment.

FAVORED DEMOCRACY

Impregnated with a robust New England individualism, Brownson had a deep-seated aversion for political absolutism in every form. Upon his conversion to the Faith, he readily perceived that the State, in Catholic philosophy, has no rightful jurisdiction over the minds and souls of men. On the strength of this conviction, he never ceased to bewail the tendency of many Catholics in his own day to identify the Church with the cause of autocratic government. Commenting on contemporary developments in France, he sympathized with Lacordaire and Montalembert, and lamented the growing influence of Louis Veuillot, whom he branded a dangerous reactionary. "For seven years," he boasted in 1862, "we stood alone in this country, and almost alone in the world, among Catholic publicists in warning Catholics against any entangling alliance with the new-fangled Caesarsim of Napoleon III." (*Works*, 20, 254)

However short-sighted might be the policy of Catholics, and even of the Roman curia, in supporting authoritarian governments in Europe, Brownson felt confident in assuring his readers that "the Church is not and cannot be committed to the cause of despotism. Catholicity itself is still,

as ever, the friend and support of all true and desirable liberty." (18, 439)

Autocratically-minded Catholics, he went on to observe, fall into precisely the same error as their sworn enemies, the red republicans. Both groups are unaware that religion is the sole defense of genuine liberty and the firmest friend of progress. "True wisdom," he declared, "demands the conciliation of religion and liberty, so that there shall never be imposed on anyone the terrible alternative of choosing between them or of sacrificing the one to the other." (18, 441)

RIGHTS ABOVE STATE

Impatient though he was of personal tyranny, Brownson was not less apprehensive of popular absolutism. "Democratic Caesarism," he warned, was "the dominant tendency of the age." (13, 222) A society in which all human rights were regarded as subject to governmental control was by definition an absolutist society, whether the administration was in the hands of a single tyrant or of the populace at large. Indeed, as Brownson had learned, in his early years as a disciple of Calhoun, the tyranny of the majority is frequently the most fearful of all tyrannies. The just interests of minorities could be secure only in a republic which faithfully recognized the existence of fundamental human rights of a non-political order, lying beyond the scope of positive legislation. If the rights of

man could be altered by the State, they were not genuine rights but mere concessions, and every individual was, in the last analysis, subject to the whims of his equals.

The sole effective guarantee against State absolutism, then, was a political system which acknowledged the sacredness of natural rights. The great merit of the American system, to Brownson's mind, consisted in the fact that the State openly confessed her own incompetence to infringe the natural law or to meddle in spiritual matters. She existed not as an end in herself, but to secure to each individual his God-given rights to life, to liberty and to the pursuit of that physical, intellectual and moral perfection becoming to his nature.

The secular power, according to Brownson, was by its very essence subordinate to the spiritual. It could not be properly defined or understood except in terms of a sacred and transcendent order which it was destined to subserve. The purpose of the State was to enable individuals and families to exploit the resources of the earth, to exercise freedom of conscience and of action and to develop themselves as social and spiritual beings. These personal rights, in turn, were inviolable only because rooted in a divinely constituted economy. The preservation of private liberties in any nation depended on a constant recognition of the primacy of the spiritual over the temporal. Once the sec-

ular order was regarded as supreme or as independent of religious norms, the rights of man were endangered.

Since natural rights cannot long stand unless supported by religious convictions, it followed as an immediate corollary in Brownson's system that there must be present in any sound society a guide and educator of consciences existing in its own right, independent of State control. Where the State recognizes the autonomy of the spiritual power, there exists, at least in principle, what Brownson characterized as a "union" of Church and State.

UNION NOT ESTABLISHED

Union of Church and State, therefore, in Brownson's terminology, is not synonymous with "establishment." Establishment, he declared in his brilliant article, "The Papacy and the Republic," (13, 326-351), is essentially a perversion of right order, for the very term implies that the Church is a mere creature of the State and its ministers a branch of the national police. Ecclesiastical establishment, he protested, is a Protestant conception, repugnant to Catholic principles. Confessional States were first erected in England and Germany in the early years of the Reformation, and presently existed in their most perfect form in the Lutheran countries of Scandinavia. Wherever Catholic countries, in an effort to withstand the assaults of organized

heresy, had attempted to bolster the Church with legal pains and penalties, the results had been in the long run detrimental to the Church herself. In Catholic as in Protestant countries, such experiments had left the Church prostrate at the feet of the temporal power.

A true union of Church and State, without absorption of the one into the other, had, in Brownson's opinion, never been successfully achieved in Europe. The Roman emperors had inherited from paganism the belief that they were supreme in spiritual, as well as in temporal, affairs, and proceeded to patronize the Church in much the same way as they had previously dragooned the State religions in their own interests. During the Middle Ages, on the contrary, the Church had been obliged to involve herself unduly to guide and enlighten the barbaric laity. Since the Reformation, the European nations had oscillated between the extremes of Erasianism and secularism.

The system of concordats was not a permanent solution but merely a temporary expedient. It was an attempt to obtain by contract those ecclesiastical liberties which the absolute monarchs refused to concede as a matter of right. In every nation of nineteenth-century Europe, Brownson concluded, the Church was either held in subjection or was treated as an enemy of the State.

In comparison with the European systems, the American constitution, in Brownson's judgment, was a decided improvement in theory and in practice. The Founding Fathers, by their insistence on the distinction of the two powers, had forcefully repudiated the Protestant notion of establishment. They did not, however, plunge into the opposite error of secularism. They acknowledged that religion is independent of the State and superior to it. Although the rights of the Church are not explicitly mentioned in the Constitution, the whole frame of government involves an implicit recognition of autonomy of the spiritual power.

As a result of this settlement, the Catholic Church in the United States, according to Brownson, enjoys greater freedom and security than in any European nation since the Reformation. She is protected with respect to the persons of her ministers and her temporal holdings. She is unhampered in the exercise of her teaching, discipline and worship. In the selection of bishops and in matters of ecclesiastical administration she is not obliged to seek any *placet* from the secular arm. The decisions of canonical courts in religious cases are recognized as binding and decisions made according to canon law are not subject to review or reversal by the civil courts. In these and in many other matters, the American system successfully harmonizes the just inter-

ests of Church and State and represents a union, without confusion, of the two societies. (13, 330 ff.)

Of course there are certain defects in the American solution, but most of these, Brownson observed, are inherent in the nature of any State where different Churches in fact co-exist. The government is bound to protect equally the various sects recognized by the citizens, and this, while a theoretical deficiency, is all that the Church exacts or expects in a divided society such as our own. A more serious blemish on the American policy is the fact that civil authority in this country usurps the functions of the Church in some very grave matters, particularly in assuming control of marriage and education (13, 278). This control, however, has not been traditionally exercised without regard for Christian principles and might be gradually corrected as Americans became progressively more aware of the Catholic implications of their fundamental law. Indeed, the American people could not be expected to administer the Constitution with full discretion until they became converted to Catholicism. (13, 177)

SAW CATHOLIC ORIGINS

That the Constitution should have been drafted in such extraordinary harmony with the political doctrines taught by the Catholic Church was not, in Brownson's opinion, a matter of mere chance. The singular excel-

lence of the American system was, for him, an evident sign that God had entrusted this nation with a providential mission to bring national life into consonance with our lofty frame of government. America had a "manifest destiny" to realize, for herself and all the world, the ideal of a Christian commonwealth. (11, 850; 18, 217)

The intellectual traditions out of which the American system had grown, Brownson shrewdly observed, were not sectarian but thoroughly Catholic. The Puritans, oppressed by the King and Parliament of Protestant England, had invoked on their own behalf the ancient Catholic principle that the State had no right to invade the province of religion. (13, 217) The notions of human rights and the natural law, which were the basis of American revolutionary doctrine, had been expounded for the first time in coherent form by the Catholic philosophers of the early Middle Ages. The whole tenor of Protestantism was in open conflict with any such principles. What place could "natural rights" hold in a theology which taught the total depravity of human nature? Where could "natural law" fit into a religion which divorced morality from reason and which placed the whole of man's justification in a blind and unmotivated act of faith?

The history of the United States, in Brownson's eyes, might be viewed as a prolonged struggle between the

Catholic principles implicit in our Constitution and the tendencies of evangelical Protestantism. "Either Protestantism," he once declared, "must get the upper hand and eliminate the American system, or the American system must get the upper hand and eliminate Protestantism." (11, 570) Far from enriching our national life, Protestantism had been busily at work for several centuries in seeking to undermine man's belief in the existence and accessibility of any natural law. In so doing Protestants were unconsciously whittling away the foundations of our social and political life and indeed of all morality and religious faith.

FOSTERED INDIFFERENCE

In his own day, Brownson saw Protestant orthodoxy losing its hold on the people and degenerating into a mere sentimentalism which left its adherents destitute of faith and reason alike. The forces of history had driven the Protestant principle of private judgment to its logical conclusion, beyond the expectations and wishes of many Protestants themselves. Heresy, in going to seed, was germinating an abundant crop of moral subjectivism and religious indifferentism.

Looking about him, Brownson sensed a new spirit—frankly pragmatic and anti-Christian—abroad in the land. As he pointed out in various essays on education and the family,

the time-honored conventions of domestic society were being brazenly challenged. Private virtue was everywhere declining, with disastrous repercussions in the sphere of public morals. "There has been a sad falling-off in the virtue, the honesty, the integrity, the chastity, and public spirit of our people in the last fifty years," he lamented in 1871; "the old habits formed under Catholic discipline and influences are wearing out, if not worn out." (13, 323)

The accepted norms which had sustained our national life, according to Brownson, are those which had sprung from Catholic civilization and had been, habitually at least, retained by the Protestant Reformers. In the article, "The Papacy and the Republic," to which reference has already been made, he cites numerous instances in support of this contention. He declares that the English common law, the great conservative element in our judicial system, is a heritage from Catholic times and that Catholic conceptions of marriage and family life, as well as of private morality, continued to hold sway, even in Protestant circles, more than two centuries after the Reformation.

But with the dissolution of orthodox Protestantism the very foundations of our social life were being seriously threatened. There no longer existed any acknowledged moral authority to interpret the extent of man's natural rights and duties. As

a result, the social fabric seemed to be falling apart. A clash of opinion as to the justice of slavery, he maintained, was largely responsible for the Civil War. In the years of recovery the country was being torn by an absurd dissension about the morality of alcoholic beverages. A far more serious matter, the whole status of family life was being called into question. Who, under present conditions, was to determine whether marriage should be treated by the law of the land as a casual contract or, according to Catholic precedent, as a *res semper sacra*? On what principle, if any, could the civil authority continue to discountenance frivolous divorces and remarriages? How long would adultery continue to be a punishable offense? Were practices such as foeticide and contraception to be sanctioned by the positive law?

In brief, Brownson concluded, the natural rights which the State existed to protect were being rapidly obscured. From year to year, there were continually fewer checks upon the arbitrary and unjust prescriptions of majority rule. If, as seemed to be indicated, the spirit of our laws should cease to be in accord with Christian ethics, the United States would fail in her providential mission, and our national greatness would soon be at an end.

The opinion that public education might provide an adequate recuperative force impressed Brownson as

foolishly shallow. The schools, as was evident, could not inculcate principles higher than those held by the teachers as individual persons. And even if the schools were to discharge their duty perfectly, it would still remain true that children are predominantly formed by the whole tone of the society in which they live. "Education, then, is not, and cannot be, the remedy, nor supply it. In a country like ours, almost completely secularized, the reliance must be on the missionary rather than the schoolmaster." (13, 345)

ROLE OF CHURCH

In this grave national crisis it was conspicuously clear that religion alone could provide the needed spiritual enlightenment. No hope, however, could be placed in Protestantism. The sects, Brownson contended, could not resist the general downward trend without violence to their own subjectivistic principles. There was only one voice in the land which could authoritatively teach the content of the natural law on which all political life was predicated. The Catholic Church alone was in vital communion with the font of Truth. Yet more important, she alone had access to the supernatural power of which men stood in need if, having once learned their moral obligations, they were to act accordingly.

In thus describing the role of the Catholic Church in American society,

Brownson was merely making a special application of his general philosophy of religion as explained in his autobiography, *The Convert*. The central intuition which led to his conversion and which underlies nearly every facet of his thought is that human institutions, to be vital and healthy, need to be informed by a divine principle. Progress is the law of life; when a being ceases to progress, it dies. But progress implies communion with a higher principle, since nothing can elevate itself by its own unaided power. Human society, therefore, cannot be truly progressive unless it be in communion with the divine. Union between man and God, however, can be achieved only through Christ, the God-man, and through the Church in which He continues on earth His theandric life. From the history of art and literature, of morals and of philosophy, Brownson drew one and the same lesson: that human nature cannot duly perfect itself in any field except under the aegis of the supernatural.

The socio-political order was no exception to this general law. The Catholic Church is to civil society what the soul is to the body. As the *forma civitatis*, she is truly distinct from the body politic, but by no means separable from it. She is the animating force in the absence of which any civilization is foredoomed to perish and dissolve. (13, 264)

The leaven of Catholicism, Brown-

son believed, is essential to any vigorous society, but especially in a republic, where long-standing traditions can be readily overturned by popular consent and decree. "Without the Catholic Church as the Church of the people, to supply the power which the Constitution presupposes or needs to secure its practical efficiency, [republicanism] is, as our American experiment is proving, an impractical government." (13, 345) In writing these words in 1873 near the end of his life, Brownson was merely reiterating the central theme of an article, "Catholicism Necessary to Sustain Popular Liberty," published, on the morrow of his conversion, in 1845.

When he undertakes to demonstrate that well-ordered society depends on the influence of the Catholic Church as an essential prerequisite, Brownson's style, always argumentative, assumes almost strictly syllogistic form. Every civilized society, he explains, must be one having institutions which conform to the moral law. But the natural moral law is merely an aspect of the divine law and derives its binding force from the will of God. In most practical matters, however, the will of God cannot be clearly and certainly known by the multitude of men except through the authoritative teaching of the Catholic Church. Where the Church is deprived of influence, the principles of the natural law are quickly forgotten.

Now as all laws, as all rights, are spiritual, or divine, and all their vigor as laws is derived from the spiritual order, only a spiritual court, or representative of the divine order, is competent to judge of them, define, declare and apply them to the practical questions as they come up in individual or social life. This representative of the divine order on earth is the Church instituted by God Himself to maintain His law in the government of men and nations. (13, 329)

CHALLENGE TO CATHOLICS

To the Catholics of his day, Brownson issued a ringing challenge in words which, if they verge on rhetorical exaggeration, contain a nucleus of solid truth both for his generation and for our own. "The salvation of the country and its future glory depend upon Catholics," he proclaimed, "and therefore they must prove themselves superior . . . in all the civic virtues to non-Catholics, else they will do nothing to save and develop American civilization." (11, 576) If the children of light, he elsewhere asserted, are selfish and inert, our land will probably be engulfed in a tide of secularism and be "turned into hell [with] all the nations that forgot God." (13, 350)

If, on the other hand, Catholics are generous and loyal to their duty, our country may well be saved from the menace of resurgent paganism. America may be expected to survive the present period of transition and rise

to a unique position of moral leadership among the nations. So magnetic, he ventured to hope, would be the attractive force of our example, that future years might see not merely the United States, but "the whole continent coming under one system, forming one grand nation, a really Catholic nation, great, glorious and free." (18, 222) On this sanguine note he concluded his political masterpiece, *The American Republic*.

In the throes of these conflicting influences, which way would the United States ultimately turn? Would the balances tip toward license and moral decay or toward a renewal of Christian intelligence and liberty under law? Brownson often asked himself these questions, and his answers seem to have fluctuated with alternating moods of hope and despondency. His dominant impression, however, was somber rather than bright.

We fear that the tendencies now at work in our people will carry them so far—licentiousness and corruption of all sorts, in public and private life, will become so universal—before the salutary influences of the Church can be brought to bear on them with requisite power, that they will be visited by Al-

mighty God in judgment rather than in mercy. We fear also that they are more likely to carry away with them a large proportion of our Catholic population, than this population is to restrain them; we fear that even the salt which should save them will lose its savor, and we tremble hardly less for our Catholic than for our non-Catholic population. But it is always better to take counsel of our hopes than of our gloomy forebodings, which, after all, may spring from the ill-health under the depression of which we are forced to write. (14, 576)

If Brownson were alive today, he might have reason to feel that, with the continued breakdown of the Christian family and the progress of organized crime, many of his "gloomy forebodings" had already been realized. One wonders whether he would find compensating gains. Would he be satisfied that Catholics were waking up to their civic responsibilities rather than being passively "carried away" in the general decline? Would he discern in our national culture sufficient resources of mind and spirit for us still to fulfill the religious destiny to which he believed American Catholics were called?



In a world so filled with suffering and crudeness what place is there for a form of recreation which deliberately places acts of brutality as a means of pleasure, and positively fosters a perverse emotionalism? Boxing, as we have it today, is badly in need of an apologist.—*Eugene Hillman, C.S.Sp. in THEOLOGICAL STUDIES, September, 1951.*

What Is a European?

AN EDITORIAL

*Reprinted from THE TABLET**

WHAT is really the like-mindedness that is the moral basis for fruitful association between the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization? It is the Atlantic Treaty which associates the United States, formally and indefinitely, with the countries of Europe, and the conception of an Atlantic community accordingly makes much more appeal than conceptions of European unity without America. For the truth is that it has become very clear that the European peoples, who have quite sufficient in common with the Americans to make and maintain a military alliance, have not enough in common with each other to make a federation. It is also clear that it is not today primarily the national divisions, so much as the ideological divisions, which divide Europeans, and that these divisions run through each national community.

A great deal of the British comment about Spain starts from the assumption that there are Spaniards with whom British Liberal and Socialist opinion would feel quite at home, but that only a Spain in which they were the ruling political class could be acceptable in the Atlantic

Treaty. There is, in short, a resolute attempt, to which the British Government is lending itself, to make the whole basis of Western defense not the defense of national communities but the defense of an ideology, that of Western democracy. Europe is represented and defined in political terms, and it therefore becomes a real and urgent political matter to ascertain what realities this language represents.

If the Atlantic Treaty Organization is to be thought of as a club whose members subscribe to parliamentary ideals and institutions, any people which repudiates those ideals and institutions must expect to be turned out. This might very easily happen in many countries. Two of the principal members, the French and the Italians, have so far had a very brief and chequered experience of parliamentary government and an extended suffrage, and there can be no sort of certainty that the parliamentary regime is at all firmly established or at all likely to last in either nation. We ought to stand back, and try to look at ourselves with some historical perspective, and then we should see that barely a quarter of a century has

* 128 Sloane St., S.W.1, London, England, July 26, 1951.

passed since Great Britain itself adopted universal suffrage for both sexes over the age of twenty-one, that these modern mass electorates are novelties and experiments, and that it is wholly misleading to think of them as the rocks on which a great international superstructure can be securely grounded. They are quite as likely to prove quicksands, because no way has yet been discovered for securing just the right amount of political interest from the ordinary citizen.

The future of political parties in Europe is highly uncertain. What is certain is that political parties, as the parliamentary regime needs them and presupposes them, must not become more than political parties. They must not become substitutes for religion, ends in themselves, groups which cannot bear to contemplate other parties controlling the State, movements which see themselves as taking and keeping command and setting their image and stamp upon their nation. But, equally, they must command a genuine allegiance, express a doctrine, maintain a continuity, and not be merely self-perpetuating groups of opportunist politicians, minding very little what is done in public affairs provided theirs are the hands that do it. Fanatical electorates, apathetic electorates—these are the Scylla and Charybdis. The fanatical extreme is the most dangerous, but those who are building the Atlantic

community ought to clear their minds now about whether they are really prepared to dissolve that community, except in so far as the parliamentary regimes prove enduring.

NATURE OF EUROPEANS

Nothing is enduring that is built on falsehood, and there is a great deal of falsehood in today's political presuppositions about the nature of Europeans. Listeners to the Home program of the B.B.C. on Sunday night heard a revealing talk by Mr. Edward Hyams on "What is a European?" It was revealing because it contrasted the European with the Asiatic, and said that the European, whatever his nation, showed an instinctive understanding of and feeling for things which did not move the Asiatic. Then the speaker gave his instances. The moral test was that the Asiatics, hearing *Othello*, admired Iago for his cleverness and success and took him for the hero of the piece. A touchstone of Europeanism he found in response to the great cathedrals. He described the non-comprehension of the Asiatics whom he took to Westminster Abbey, and to whom he showed El Greco's *Agony in the Garden*, before taking them to hear Beethoven's Fifth Symphony.

He recognized that Europeans are people with an inheritance, and inside a tradition, which determines their character, even where they are in conscious revolt against some part of

that heritage and tradition. He spoke of St. Thomas More, who at his trial explained that he could not put the interests and judgments of one realm above the common judgments of Christendom. From all this, Mr. Hyams seemed to be getting near the real secret, that the formation of such a man as More had taken place inside a society that was a real and visible society, whose members, for fifteen centuries, had known and recognized each other as fellow-members of the Catholic Church, a society whose nature and purpose and origin all alike made it something apart from all other societies, so much so that it caught up and expressed in itself the real significance of human life. This was the immense experience which united the Europeans, which bound together and gave a similarity of outlook to people of the most diverse racial origins—Celtic, Mediterranean, Slavonic, Teutonic, and so many more—whom geography and history had led to this small fertile part of the world, but for all of whom the decisive historical experience was conversion and baptism and incorporation in the unique society of the Church.

What the Protestant Reformers attempted they attempted inside the Catholic tradition, in so far as they tried to perpetuate the idea of a common society, but to change its doctrine, its structure and purpose. After the Protestants came the Liberals, Ra-

tionalists, Socialists—all people whose activities and ideals become immediately intelligible, and are only intelligible, if they are seen as post-graduates still hungering to realize in their own way the ideals that they have inherited from the Catholic centuries—notions of the reign of law and justice, the search for the international and supranational organization, something which, as Professor Gilbert Murray told the Liberal Summer School at Oxford, is in fact going on all the time in the form of the new institutions and organizations, created for a wide range of philanthropic purposes. All these things represent a new and hopeful attempt to realize the unity of the human family, an attempt being made by men whose ancestors were moulded by the teaching of a universal religion, given by the Universal Church.

ILLOGICAL DEFINITION

But Mr. Hyams, after indicating so clearly the religious origins and places of the European spirit, went on to define it not as anything religious, but in a way that was quite illogical, and a *non sequitur* to what had gone before in his talk, as inspired by the ideal of "the completely balanced man." He spoke of the European as the person who never limited himself to following one man's vision or any single school or party. Yet it is a simple matter of history, and very recent history, to show that vast numbers

of Europeans have been quite content in following one man's vision or any party's view; and what Mr. Hyams was really doing at the end of his talk was to limit the notion of a European to one particular, and we must say very rare, type, the gentle cultured sceptic—a product of Oxford and Cambridge over the last hundred years, and a type represented also among the professional men on the Continent, but in no sort of way truly representative of what is found in Europe, and ludicrously unrepresentative of poor men in any one European country.

It is a curious thing that Liberal intellectuals should so easily make so sweeping an assumption and impugn themselves as they do. It happened at The Hague conference in 1948, when they attempted to define the European spirit as Liberalism, whereupon Bertrand Russell pointed out most pertinently that they had neither historical warrant for doing this, nor for claiming that toleration was a specific mark of the European mind or temper. The marks of Europe have really been great energy, an intolerance which is itself the product of the creative temper, and a scientific curiosity. These things have distinguished the European from the Asiatic, and Liberal attempts to impose Liberal definitions are in the authentic European tradition precisely in their intolerance. It will be a step forward if this is recognized by Liberals them-

selves; if they can come to see themselves as just as intolerant when they refuse to consider themselves as belonging to the same society as any European who does not believe in Parliament as their theological excommunicating ancestors of the Kirk or the Church. An English trade unionist who says he will only accept as an ally a person who subscribes to his own democratic faith is the political counterpart of a Spanish Bishop who might declare that he could only accept strict Catholics as his ally in the same war with the Communists, the enemy equally of Catholic religious and democratic political doctrine. Intolerance cuts both ways.

If there is one man connected with European unity who might be thought particularly well fitted to understand that the definitions and conditions of membership for Europeans must be extremely broad, it is surely M. Spaak: for no strict constitutionalist could accept M. Spaak, after his performance last year, leading a mob and likening himself to Danton to overrule the Belgian Parliament and the result of an election just after it had been held. It is only because we are convinced that European unity cannot be based on the test of fidelity to parliamentary procedures that we continue to accept M. Spaak as a fellow European. But the test by which he qualifies is one which qualifies other Europeans in other countries

who are not faithful to the parliamentary ideas. It is reasonable to restrict membership of the European Parliament to the parliamentary countries, and not to accept Government nominees at Strasbourg. But it is also essential, in the wider Atlantic

community, with its military meaning, that there should be found a way of associating all Europeans together; and that no one should pretend that the Europe which is to be defended only came into existence with the French Revolution.

Communist Persecution

Communist persecution in China, which has been building up for more than twenty years, was brought closer to many Catholics in this country by the news that five Canadian nuns had been arrested on absurd charges of cruelty to Chinese orphans. From early school days we come to know of the unselfish work of the missionary Sisters in the Orient, but the record of the Reds there and elsewhere makes this latest action, while tragic, no great surprise. The *London Universe* once told of a Communist meeting held in Spain during the early days of the civil war. The Red orator attacked the religious orders, and at the end of his speech invited comments. A poorly dressed man cried out: "Yes, sir, I have a comment to make. It is this. We had diphtheria at our house. One of the nuns came and nursed my wife and daughter. My wife got better; my daughter got better; the nun died. That's all I've got to say." The hall rang with applause. At least one Red slander had been answered.—*From the COMPANION OF ST. FRANCIS AND ST. ANTHONY, May, 1951.*

Practical Social Service

It is a matter of common knowledge that young Mormons are expected to devote one or two years to missionary endeavor—at their own expense. Some young Quakers spend their summers in Europe helping farmers in war-stricken areas. Those who remain at home inaugurate a clean-up-paint-up program, also at their own expense, in slum areas in their own communities.

What are our Catholic high school and college students doing? How many of them are volunteering for mission work in Africa or Mississippi, or for some form of apostolic work in their own communities? What programs of practical social service are offered them?

According to Census Bureau reports, nearly five million teenagers in 1950 were working full or part-time—an increase of more than 65 per cent over 1940. How many of them are working for God? Or does it matter?—*John J. O'Connor in TODAY, October, 1951.*

What Makes Communists?

G. J. GUSTAFSON, S.S.

*Reprinted from THE PRIEST**

OF THE making of Communists there is no end! Yet at least one thing is now readily apparent: not all of them are made Communists of their own free choice. Equally apparent is it by now (even the State Department sees this) that countries are made Communistic by treachery and violence and the practice of deceit raised to the level of the fine arts, by bluster and bluff.

One wonders what old Karl Marx thinks of the Dialectic from whatever point he views it now. History obstinately refused to read *Das Kapital*. It was bad enough in his own lifetime to have hailed the revolution again and again only to see it fail to come off; and the situation has not improved since then. It was Marx who wrote: "I do not trust any Russian. As soon as a Russian worms his way in, all hell breaks loose." Yet today it is Russia which stands before the world as the Communist state par excellence. No urban proletarian uprising, once confidently foreseen, has yet taken place in England or Germany; and instead of the inevitable forward march of economics, understood only by Marx, we have seen the reign of accident and the rule of the

haphazard. It was in no sense Marx the irrefragable theorist but Lenin the brilliant, cold-blooded, unprincipled opportunist who made even this mockery of Communism possible.

Probably it would be truer to say that there are no Communist countries. What we witness today is not Communism but, decked out in its feathers, the age-old phenomenon of autocracy, tyranny, oppression, spoliation—call it what you will. But there are Communists. Just why, is always an interesting question.

It was raised once more by the case of Larry Parks, an alleged actor, a confessed Communist, whose hearing before the House Committee on Un-American Activities was recently splashed all over the front pages. What makes a Communist?

Any number of answers come to mind, all of them possibly valid. Emma Goldman, an anarchist rather than a Communist, furnishes us a neat logical division which we can use profitably here. Emma, some of our older readers will well recall, was once the darling of the American press. She was always good copy. Arrested over and over again as an agitator, a loud and persistent enemy of

* Huntington, Ind., May, 1951.

capitalism and imperialism, a protagonist of conscientious objection to war (for which she and her husband were deported during World War I) she could always be counted on by the yellow press when things got dull. "Red Emma," as she was often called, wrote in 1924 a book significantly titled, *My Further Disillusionment in Russia*, from which we quote here.

During her stay in Russia, notes Goldman, she became acquainted with three classes of visitors who had come to "study the revolution" which was then manifesting itself in the Third Congress of the Third International. The first, the idealists, to whom the Bolsheviks were the symbol of the Revolution and the downfall of Czarist despotism, for the most part "became bitterly disappointed after the first few months and sought to get out of Russia." The second class, "journalists, newspapermen and some adventurers," with few exceptions, became the easy dupes of Soviet propaganda. Ignorant of the language, isolated from all but Bolshevik guides, they were content to spend a few weeks or months under government tutelage, happy thereafter to pose as authorities on this brave new world. "I remember my astonishment," writes Emma Goldman, "when I read in a certain London daily that the teachings of Jesus 'were being realized in Russia.' A preposterous falsehood of which none but a charlatan could be guilty." The third group,

"the majority of the visitors, delegates, and members of various commissions," came to Russia simply to become "agents of the ruling party." These willingly became the echoes of Communist leaders. They listened, acquiesced and applauded; they were after all nothing but hirelings.

AMERICAN DELEGATES

Most conspicuous among these were the American delegates. Of them Goldman writes: "They accepted without question every proposition and suggestion . . ." Again, "The most flagrant intrigues and political machinations and brazen suppression of those who would not be cajoled or bullied into blind adherence found ready support by the American Communist crew and the aides they had brought with them." In a word, "The American delegates proved themselves worthy of their hire." One of these had the audacity to write to a publication in the United States that "the workers in Russia control the industries and are directing the affairs of the country. They get everything free and need no money." Others came home simply to repeat the same lies. It was a job at least. And the American people, softened up by Walter Duranty and like journalists, were gullible.

Emma wrote in 1924 but things hardly changed thereafter. One thinks of the groveling of Browder and Foster and the tergiversations of the

Daily Worker, of the journalists who came back from Russia after World War II with glowing reports for the future, of those who hailed the "agrarian reform" in Red China, of the apologists for Red Spain. Nor is it possible to forget Yalta and Potsdam and the breezy boasts that one understood Uncle Joe. And there were those who counseled the dismissal of Chiang Kai-shek and the abandonment even of Formosa.

Part of the picture, too, was the public beating of one's breast and the confession to all the world of the wickedness of one's native United States. There were, till very recently at least, what Arthur Koestler called "Babbits of the Left." One is not sure that they have yet ceased to exist.

SENTIMENTALISTS

These were the Wallaces and their fellow sentimentalists who searched their souls and writhed in agony, who found blood on their hands and grew faint—the blood of the oppressed Negro and the wronged share-cropper and the laborer defrauded of his just wage, and the Jew hunted like a quarry. (Occasionally but infrequently a particularly gifted searcher discovered evidences of discrimination against Catholics, too.)

These were the liberals who thus

faced a self-imposed dilemma: if Soviet totalitarianism is bad, American imperialism is equally bad. If the Soviets dispossessed and uprooted *in toto* the Crimean Republic, the Chechen Republic, the Volga-German Republic, banishing enormous masses to the Arctic, well, there were also the Hollywood purges, and nine script writers were dismissed from their jobs!

There were also the anti-anti-Communists. Their fallacy Koestler phrases as follows: "I am not a Communist. In fact I dislike Stalinist politics but I don't want to be identified with anti-Communist Red-baiting, with the Hollywood purges and the Hearst press. . . . If W. R. Hearst says that twice two is four, I shall automatically hold that twice two is five or at least 4½."¹

Were they in reality Communists as well as anti-anti-Communists? It is not easy to draw the line of distinction. They did not, most of them, hold party memberships. Some of them had once earlier held cards which they relinquished in at least a partial disillusionment. In any case, in effect, they were *practical* Communists; they aided and abetted Communism. Loud and obstreperous, often in positions where they could exercise power over the media of ex-

¹ "Eight Fallacies of the Left Babbitt," in *Verdict of Three Decades*, edited by Julien Steinberg, Duell, Sloan and Pearce. The present writer is indebted to this extremely valuable work also for quotations from Emma Goldman, Trubetskoy, Cham Berlin, Hicks and Silone.

pression—the movies, radio, the press—they did a great deal to soften up American policy, to influence politicians, to beguile the public and to undermine America. In effect they succeeded in befogging vital issues. Their achievement was the creation of an almost impenetrable smoke-screen behind which full-fledged Communists in security spread their lies abroad and "led captive silly [men and] women laden with sins."

To return to Larry Parks. Passing by the troublesome sympathizers, one may divide Communists into two classes: the idealists, who may or may not become disillusioned at last; the professional Communists, who are after all nothing but politicians in the bad sense of an ambiguous term, even if politicians a cut above the average, more intelligent, more ruthless, consequently more efficient. Larry Parks was an idealist; he was the victim of a situation. In the words of the old ballad he is "more to be pitied than blamed." But his case has its own particular interest in spite of that. Or rather, precisely because of that.

We confess, indeed, that his "idealism" was not marked by any particular intensity and his allegiance wavered, that he cut quite a ridiculous figure and was revealed as cringing and vacillating. Worst of all, for an idealist, he seems to be a congenital cheapskate—"When I was a member of the Communist Party I paid dues

(\$2.00 per month!) and gave rather meager contributions. I don't think I'm a stingy man but I am known as a close man with a dollar." In a word we hold no brief for Parks. Granting that he told the truth we are interested only in the following remarks.

CERTAIN NEEDS

"In 1941," said Parks, "being a member of the Communist Party fulfilled certain needs of a young man of liberal thought. . . . In 1941 (the date of his joining the party) the purposes as I knew them fulfilled my ideal of being for the underdog . . . I was 25, with certain liberal leanings and an idealist . . . No young man who isn't a liberal is worth his salt . . ."

There it is again. Communism passed for an ideal which the "liberal" found irresistible. It offered itself as the champion of the underdog. It was the cause of justice. It was the Way, the Truth and the Life!

And behind the scenes pulling the strings were the professional Communists, who gave these hollow-headed puppets the semblance of reality.

The peculiar efficacy of Communism lies just here in its highly developed myth-making technique. From its first beginnings it has propagated itself by lies.

The initial lie, that it had served as the instrument of the freedom of the Russian people, history refutes. It was the Russian people who freed

themselves from the Czar. In an accurate statement that should be more familiar than it is, Professor Eugene Trubetskoy pointed out that there probably had never been "a revolution so truly national in the widest sense of the term . . . Everyone made this revolution, everyone took part in it—the proletariat, the soldiers, the bourgeoisie, even the nobility—all the social forces of the land."

Only two important men were absent! Lenin returned to Russia a month after the Revolution; Trotsky, two months after, and he was not then a member of the Bolsheviks.

From March to November 1917, and from March to November only, was there a democratic and free Russia under the direction of a provisional government which Kerensky headed as Prime Minister. Freedom ceased in November, for freedom forgot to protect itself. Lenin came to power in November, 1917.

LENIN'S BAYONETS

By election? When have Communists ever won an election? Lenin seized power by a *coup d'état*. Elections to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly were scheduled for November 25; critical issues confronted the new body-to-be. In that facile equation of Communism with "the people" Lenin proclaimed to his cohorts: "The people have the right and the duty to decide such questions not by a vote but by force." He set the ever-

recurring pattern and used that force. The elections, if only for appearance's sake, had to be carried out. The result was that the Communists received only a quarter of the 36,000,000 votes. Lenin's bayonets dissolved the assembly!

Still the myth went on: Communism had freed Russia; Communism stood for social justice and equality; Communist Russia was the worker's paradise; Russia was the model for the world and in Communism lay the hope of the future. Somehow, and we shall try to see how, the lie flourished. It was always Russia the Ideal which made converts to Communism and it is always disillusionment which is the burden of the confessions of apostates from it.

To William Henry Chamberlin in 1922, the Russian model was "the panacea for war and for all social injustice," a note which is typical of them all. "The fate of culture," said Gide in 1936 (who also lived to reverse his decision), "is bound up in our minds with the destiny of the Soviet Union. We will defend it." Looking back on his years of wandering in the Communist maze, Granville Hicks concludes that he was "dogmatically convinced that salvation lay solely with the Communist party."

It is, however, Eugene Lyons' autobiography, *Assignment in Utopia*, which is the classic tale of the rude awakening. Lyons was bred in socialism. At thirteen he attended a social-

ist Sunday school. Thence he graduated to the Young People's Socialist League. At City College in New York the Revolution was "the rapturous harbinger of that great change in the glow of which we had warmed our spirits." In his first years of marriage "unhesitatingly I cast my lot with the Communists." Of his post as Moscow correspondent, he wrote: "If anyone ever went to the Soviet realm with a deep and earnest determination to understand the Revolution . . . it was the newly-appointed United Press correspondent." "Ardently if illogically," he adds, "I gave the Revolution credit for everything cultural that it had inherited from the Czarist era."

Then to him, as to all the others, came the day when his eyes were opened and he saw the enormity of the deception practiced on him.

THE BEATITUDES

To turn back to our original question: What makes Communists? The answer becomes clearer. The professionals apart, converts to Communism have often represented, in varying degrees of course, the potentially best elements in our society. Communists have not infrequently been "they that hunger and thirst after justice," "the merciful," "the peacemakers"; some of them have suffered "persecution for justice's sake." If from exaltation some have sunk now to what Granville Hicks called sadly "suspicion of all certitudes," and if

struggle has been replaced by apathy, there is tragedy. He can add with considerable truth of this waste of time and talent: "For what we did . . . I think we need not apologize. There is not one of these things that I would not do again. But I would not do them under the leadership of the Communist party, and that is the tragedy for all of us who were in the party or worked for it."

Certainly the Christian, above all, should be sensitive to this tragedy. How can he, of all men, fail to see the secret of the hold Communism can have on the minds and hearts of better men? The fascination it exercises is not its own. It appeals to virtues which are fundamentally Christian. It capitalizes on a restlessness which is in reality the desire for God—"Fecisti nos ad te . . ." (Thou hast made us for Thyself.) Its wrath is not only Christian indignation at wrong; it is also the echo of the Old Testament prophets.

It is essentially an inverted spirituality, but as such, in Ignazio Silone's words: "Spirituality borrowed from the Western world." One might even venture to say, as it is increasingly being said today, that there could have been no Revolution had there been no Christianity. In an extreme statement of this view Heinrich de Man has written, "I believe there never has been any attempt at revolution that was not Christian in origin. If there is no socialism in Asia,

it is because there is no Christianity."²

In reality the tragedy is two-fold: it touches us in two ways, in sympathy for the victim, and in chagrin at our own failure.

It is simply once more an instance of what seems to be a descriptive law: "The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light."

So it is that Daniel-Rops records with grief a remark of a priest-friend:

"Is it not a fearful thing for us to see that our most virulent enemies are inspired by genuinely Christian virtues? We are chastised by our own words, the words which we have received but have not been able to retain" (*Communism and Christians*, p. 266). They were standing at the time in a place which overlooked the great circus where early Christians had once laid down their lives "not to preserve the established order but to establish a new one."

² For an understanding of the positive significance of Communism one may well consult *Communism and Christians*, The Newman Press, the source of this quotation.



Catholic Social Workers for the Immigrants

While the Protestant groups may have finances and paid workers, they will never win Catholics over to heretical ideas if we can only augment the number of the priests and Sisters who are today at work among these various racial and immigrant groups. To meet the challenge of the attack on the social-service level, we must point to the vast opportunities for social work and induce Catholic social workers to come into the field. Many there are, and have proved their worth; we could use five for everyone we now have.

The threat of proselytizing as it is carried on in the midst of racial and immigrant groups is real, and it must be evaluated correctly. The answer to the problems it raises is real, too, and must be correctly evaluated. We are threatened with conflict and division and loss among the sheep in the fold; it can be answered only by the heroism of the shepherd who will give, if need be, his very life for the sheep.—*Patrick O'Brien, C.M. in WORLD-MISSION, December, 1950.*

Church and State in New Orleans

PHILIP S. OGILVIE

*Reprinted from THE MARIANIST**

FABULOUS New Orleans, "America's most interesting city," is many things to many people. To the historian it is history under four flags. To the barrister it is law under the Napoleonic Code. To the business man it is the gateway to Latin America and opportunity. Depending upon circumstances and individuals the Crescent City is either beauty or sordidness, triumph or failure, sanctity or iniquity, joy or sorrow. But, more than these things, it is to those whom Providence has destined to live and love, work and play and otherwise meet the obligations of earthly existence within its limits, home—a home of which they are justly proud.

For generations New Orleanians have taken pride in their city, and they have demonstrated their pride in it by preserving its ancient beauties, by beautifying its areas of expansion, and by erecting suitable, dignified memorials in honor of those noble groups and individuals who, being inspired by love of neighbor and civic pride, have given generously of themselves for the good of the community. Thus it happens that the New Orleans of 1951 is a pano-

rama of beauty, old and new, and a city adorned with many monuments. Scores of appropriate memorials enhance the beauty of its parks and parkways.

Among the more recent memorials erected by citizens of New Orleans to honor its heroes is that of Mother Cabrini—Saint Frances Xavier Cabrini—the first citizen of the United States ever to be raised to the altar. It stands on public land in a floral parkway at the busy intersection of Canal Boulevard and Harrison Avenue.

In form it is a modest statue of the dynamic nun, foundress of the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart, who left her native Italy to come to the poor of America and to give herself completely to the work of caring for their needs by founding hospitals, orphanages and schools from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. In New Orleans she dissipated a vicious system of political corruption and enslavement among the Italian immigrants in addition to her charitable work to relieve misery and poverty. The New Orleans houses stand foremost among the achievements of the little saint of

* University of Dayton, Dayton 9, Ohio, September, 1951.

Italy and America. In 1943 the foundation in that city celebrated its golden jubilee.

In view of the memorials to Christian charity that Mother Cabrini herself had built—67 foundations in a lifetime of 67 years—the monument might seem to some woefully inadequate. In all, the statue with its podium is less than six feet in height. At its base is a plaque bearing the simple inscription: "St. Frances Xavier Mother Cabrini, erected August 25, 1949, by the Order of the Alhambra during its 23rd Biennial Convention."

The ceremony of the unveiling of the memorial, gift to the citizens of New Orleans from the Order of Alhambra of the Knights of Columbus, was of the simplest proportions. Indeed many of the citizens of the Crescent City were unaware of its existence until quite recently. Others, passing it, never slowed down enough to learn the identity of the heroic woman garbed in the habit of her order, her hands extended in the gesture of giving, symbolic of her life of service to all men regardless of creed or color.

There were some, of course, old friends of Mother Cabrini, Catholic and non-Catholic, who rode the city buses out to see the memorial erected in honor of their saintly benefactress. Each Sunday brought a few such to stand before the little statue and recall her benefactions with grateful

The New Orleans court decision concerning the statue of Mother Cabrini is of national importance because it focuses attention on the fact that the First Amendment to the United States Constitution forbids the passing of legislation prohibiting the free exercise of religion. This part of the Amendment has been ignored by those who would drive religion entirely out of our national life.

The First Amendment reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

The first part of the statement, which literally forbids the setting up of an Established Church, though it says nothing about making the government secularistic and anti-religious, is stressed today by anti-Catholic and anti-religious forces; but the fact that the amendment forbids the passing of legislation prohibiting the free exercise of religion is being snowed under by propaganda.

—Editor of the MARIANIST.

hearts. And some of those who came could not resist a smile at seeing the servant of the poor surrounded by the homes of the well-to-do in an exclusive neighborhood relatively far removed from the scenes of her labors and the habitations of her old friends.

Some even thought that the memorial should have been located near or in the neighborhoods which she had frequented. Some thought so, that is, until October 6, 1950, when the most monumental foolishness to make the New Orleans papers in many years appeared. Then, all of her old friends, resentful that some of the memorial's neighbors did not want it among them, rallied around their sainted heroine to insist that she who had lived among such sordid slums in the service of her God and His children belonged among beauty of landscape.

SUIT STARTED

On October 6, 1950, a suit demanding that the city order the removal of the memorial was filed in the Civil District Court. Plaintiff was a Protestant layman who challenged the site on the grounds that the use of public property for a private purpose violated the strict separation of Church and State.

All New Orleans was stunned, and to those, Catholics and non-Catholics alike, who had been the recipients of Mother Cabrini's benefactions, the suit represented nothing more nor less than the grossest kind of insult

to a heroine long the object of their veneration and gratitude.

The lines that were drawn, the sides that were taken were a sociological study in themselves. Catholics in general were hurt by this latest manifestation of the muddled thinking of the Blanshards, Oxnams and Poteats, of the diverse Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State. Protestants in general regretted making an issue of a practice long a tradition not only in New Orleans, but also throughout the nation, that is, the using of public property to honor heroes to whom honor was due regardless of the religion of the hero. The poor interpreted the whole situation as evidence that the rich could not appreciate the heroism of unselfishness on their behalf. Only the court concerned itself with the legal aspects of the case. Meanwhile, the little saint was the talk of the town.

By the time the case was being heard in court, five Protestant ministers, two Baptists, a Methodist, a Presbyterian and an Evangelical Lutheran, had joined forces with George Singelmann, the petitioner. The suit was heard by Judge Louis H. Yarrut, a Jew and a Mason, and the whole community waited impatiently for a decision.

In filing his suit Mr. Singelmann had declared:

This suit is filed to uphold the basic principle of the American Constitution

and the American principle is that there should be an absolute separation of church and state. That this protects all religions, and anything which deviates from that hurts and impairs all of the rights of all religions.

Also:

No public property or place should ever be used for any private purpose . . . the statue in question is a laudable tribute by a religious sect to one of their members and duly venerates her. However, it is not a public matter but a purely private matter and a matter of private opinion and veneration by a segment of the people, and has no place on public property.

In the light of this, Judge Yarrut's decision, whatever it might be, would be of great significance. If New Orleans was tense, the rest of the nation was equally so, for if the case was decided in favor of the petitioner, hardly a city of any size in the entire nation would not be without its empty pedestals.

Finally on March 21, 1951, the decision was handed down. Judge Yarrut declared:

To deny the right of the city to erect a statue to a public figure solely because of the honoree's religion, whatever rank he or she may have in his or her particular Church, would be to violate the constitutional mandate that there shall be no discrimination against anyone because of his race or religion.

He continued:

The only restriction against the city is that it cannot discriminate. That any statue or monument might incidentally have some religious significance cannot be held violative of the constitutional prohibitions, unless it was designed and used as a public shrine or place of

worship, or for the propagation of a religious belief; or was intended to hold some other religious group in public contempt and ridicule; or designed to cause religious strife and antagonisms.

Pointing out that communities have always followed the practice of erecting statues to their heroes, Judge Yarrut said that denial of such honor to a hero because he has been honored by his Church would be a violation of the law prohibiting discrimination against any form of religious faith or worship.

The statue of Mother Cabrini, the decision states, was accepted by the city "in honor and recognition of the outstanding services rendered to the community in the field of child care and for her effort and sacrifices during the Yellow Fever epidemics of 1897 and 1905, when she assisted the authorities and made personal visits to the homes of the sick and afflicted, and because she established and helped maintain an orphanage in the City of New Orleans." That the plaque on the statue, erected by the Order of the Alhambra of the Knights of Columbus, does not mention her public charities might be cause for changing the inscription, declared the judge, but hardly for removal of the statue.

In reply to the objection against the statue because it portrays a person in religious garb, the decision states:

If the honoree performed her chari-

ties and benevolences in that garb, it is that garb in which she is better known and recognized. In any other garb she would be a stranger. . . . Soldiers and religious figures are usually depicted in the garb in which they performed their public deeds of valor or benevolence.

To the objection that St. Frances Xavier Cabrini was not a native or full-time resident of New Orleans, Judge Yarrut replied that "one could be a public benefactor of this community without ever having been here, while one could be born and die here without ever having contributed anything of value to the public interest or welfare."

It was not a decision dealing only with the figure of Mother Cabrini, but was a ruling that "public honor to the memory of a worthy individual is for the public good." The judge found no violation of the Constitution of the United States or the Constitution of the State of Louisiana.

But the decision of Judge Yarrut was more than the establishing of a precedent that will have sweeping implications throughout the country. It was a reproof of monumental foolishness, a valuable lesson taught

about brotherly love and friendly co-operation. In effect those who brought such a suit were shown that they were guilty of violating the spirit of the Constitution; that the whole issue which they had provoked was foolish and unfortunate; that it was a thoughtless flight into the face of tradition.

Judge Yarrut's decision was a masterpiece of investigation and understanding, a triumph for the law in the role of teacher. It was a triumph of reason over the forces of disunity by a man who is himself a member of a minority. He cited innumerable examples of similar memorials, and not only in New Orleans—the statue of Martin Luther in Baltimore, for instance—as well as the naming of public buildings as memorials to leaders of various religious persuasions. Funds for many of these memorials were raised by private subscription, as were the funds for the statue of Mother Cabrini, and municipalities had accepted these memorials in honor of their heroes, had placed them on public lands, and had never been so narrow as to consider them special favors to private interests.



"Defense mechanisms," "conditioning," "readjustment," "gearing," and a hundred other words borrowed from the garage are used to describe the ways of man. Penetrating is the comment of Lin Yu-t'ang: "Such phrases have a queer dehydrated, synthetic flavor and suggest that the bones of our morality have been picked pretty clean."—*Liam Brophy in the CANADIAN MESSENGER OF THE SACRED HEART, November, 1951.*

Editorials

Jewish Labor Exposes Communism

ONE of the biggest disappointments of the Communist Party in the United States has been its inability to win the minority groups over to its cause, root and branch. Nothing would make them happier than to know that Jews and Negroes and Puerto Ricans or Mexicans and other minorities were safely lined up within the Party. The resounding defeat of Benjamin Davis for New York City Councilman in the 1949 elections, and that of Representative Vito Marcantonio in 1950, were bitter pills for Communist throats to swallow. Both candidates have thousands of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in their constituencies.

Experience shows that the Communists have a set of definite reasons for wishing to shepherd the minorities in their fold. They may be summed up as follows:

1. They hope to win the minorities to their side by making people who already experience a good deal of hostility or dislike feel that their lot, for better or worse, is bound up with the fate of the Communists. The Comrades would like nothing better than

for the public to think that "all Jews are Communists."

2. When public sentiment is aroused against the doings of the Communists, and anti-Communist sentiment is becoming (from the Communist standpoint) dangerously strong, there is no neater way to pull the rug from under an anti-Communist movement than to declare it "anti-Negro," or "anti-Semitic," "anti" any other national or racial group. The Communists are not above raising the cry of anti-Catholic when it suits their purpose.

3. If Jews and Negroes are drawn into the Communist net, they can be skillfully used to create fresh resentment, and spark the fuse for outbreaks and incidents of every sort, by occasioning acts of hostility against them. Thus in a short time the rights and wrongs of a particular conflict become so confused that everybody is angry at everyone else, which is a situation of revolutionary dynamism, in the Communist jargon, and is just what is needed for them to get control. A very good example of this was the unfortunate series of Peekskill riots, admirably analyzed by James Rorty and Winifred Raushenbush in the November issue of the Jewish monthly, *Commentary*.

4. Last but not least, every incident of this kind involving majority and minority groups is magnificent material for Communist propaganda-export to people in other countries who are sympathetic to minority groups in the United States.

Cutting right across these carefully hatched plans is the program of the Jewish Labor Committee, which has recently published an illustrated report of its remarkable Labor Conference to Stop Communist Aggression, held in New York City on October 1, 1950. The major labor organizations of the nation, in which Jews play a prominent part, sent more than 2,000 to take part in this demonstration.

Said David Dubinsky, President, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union:

Our Jewish brothers and the free trade unionists in other lands will surely again be the first victims in another war. Just like the totalitarians of the black and brown stripe, so will the totalitarians of the red stripe use them as the scapegoats for their nefarious acts.

So, too, Jacob Potofsky, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, C.I.O.:

Communism, like any other totalitarian system, is essentially hateful to Jewish human dignity. It can flourish only in a climate of ignorance and poverty. Jewish workers know that the extension and expansion of democratic ideas and the achievement of an ever higher standard of living for all people everywhere will stop Communism dead in its tracks.

And Mrs. Edith S. Sampson, American Delegate to the United Nations Assembly:

I come to this conference not as the representative of 16 million Negroes in America, but as part of an all-American team representing 152 million Americans.

The enemy has been active in trying to sow seeds of mistrust between Negroes and Jews, but they won't get away with it. We are all united, Negroes and whites, Jews and Gentiles, to fight Communism's New Imperialism.

The Jews, said Adolph Held, Chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee, "were not blinded to the nature of Bolshevism when it became America's military ally." They saw its destruction of all that the Jews held sacred. "In 1939," said Nathan Charnin, Educational Director of the Workmen's Circle, "after the Nazi-Soviet Pact, with Stalin's help, Hitler created the ghettos which cost the lives of 6,000,000 Jews."

In its resolutions unanimously adopted, the Conference declared:

We hail the fact that Jewish labor in America has helped to purge the American labor movement and institutions of the last vestige of Communism. Communism is not only the enemy of the labor movement and the Jewish people but also of the people of Korea, Russia and the entire world.

These are considered, reasoned words, none of them emotional outbursts. This is the language of men and women who have suffered discrimination, oppression and poverty.

They should go a long way toward clearing the poisonous fog that blurs the utter difference between the genuine and the fraudulent champion of liberty, democracy and world fraternity. We congratulate the Jewish Labor Committee on its forthright stand.

—*INTERRACIAL REVIEW, New York, N. Y., January, 1951.*

Is Betting Wrong?

IT IS commonly known that Catholic moralists do not condemn games of chance as intrinsically evil. It is not so commonly known, however, that these same moralists teach that betting can become immoral because of immoral circumstances. To prevent local misunderstanding, therefore, about the attitude of the Church toward gambling during the current investigations, we review briefly here the Catholic position on this matter.

Betting is a contract and, apart from evil circumstances that may attend it, is no more immoral than any other contract. To contract to win or lose money on the issue of a game of chance is, in itself, no more sinful than to pay for life insurance, in one sense, which can be regarded as a wager a person makes with an insurance company that one will not live to a certain age.

Theologians commonly list four conditions that must be fulfilled if betting or a game of chance is to be morally licit:

1. The stake must belong to the gambler and must be at his free disposal. It would therefore be wrong for a person to risk money necessary for himself or his dependents.

2. The gambler must act freely, without unjust compulsion.

3. There must be no fraud, although the usual ruses of the game may be allowed.

4. The game must be played on an equitable basis; all the parties to a wager must have an equal chance to win.

Moreover, the circumstances surrounding a game of chance must be morally acceptable. Gambling would be wrong:

—If indulged in to excess so that it leads one to neglect his duties.

—If it gives scandal.

—If it takes place in unwholesome surroundings that constitute an occasion of sin.

—If it leads one to associate with evil companions.

—If it means such a serious flouting of the law as to tend to destroy respect for civil authority.

—If it encourages bribery of civil officials and law enforcement officers and thus leads to corruption in government.

—If its existence on a large scale produces the kind of gangsterism unfortunately prevalent in many American cities.

—If it results in any other kind of moral evil.

It is not necessarily wrong to patronize a public gambling place which is falsely advertised as a charitable project, but it is certainly morally wrong to operate such a project. Almost equally reprehensible is the operation of games of chance under the guise of charity when only a small fraction of the profits is given to charitable causes.

The American Catholic Philosophical Association summed it all up with neatness and dispatch in a resolution adopted at its most recent convention, when it declared that "this association, while convinced that gambling is not in itself immoral, does hereby condemn gambling carried on in ways and conditions that are immoral . . ."—CATHOLIC TELEGRAPH-REGISTER, *Cincinnati, Ohio*, April 13, 1951.



The Negro and Education

Once over lightly, here is a brief picture of the legal side of this business. Eighteen States have legislation of one kind or another against discrimination in education. They are Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington (state), Wisconsin, Wyoming. Recently, New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts have enacted Fair Education Practice Acts with commissions to administer them like Fair Employment Commissions. This saves the interminable time and trouble of pushing each individual violation through the courts. Six States expressly forbid discrimination in the public school system, to the tune of cutting off State funds from any offending school district. The practical value of this approach was apparent recently in Illinois, when a whole school district was sliced off the budget until forced to mend its ways.

On the other side twenty-one States and the District of Columbia permit or require segregation in the school system. No point in listing them, as anyone can guess them in twenty-one guesses. Just for the record, North Carolina and Delaware have statutes on the books requiring separate schools for Indians! Can't remember when I last met an Indian in Delaware. The utter confusion that is bound to accompany all this fiddle-faddle is most evident in the laws of four States. They provide for segregation, but they expressly forbid discrimination in the public school system.—*Ruth Hume in INTERRACIAL REVIEW, September, 1951.*

Documentation

Ingruentium Malorum (On the Rosary)

POPE PIUS XII

Encyclical letter addressed to all the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops and other Ordinaries in peace and communion with the Holy See.

SINCE We were raised to the supreme Chair of Peter, by design of Divine Providence, seeing the advancing evils, We have never ceased to entrust to the most powerful protection of the Mother of God the fate of the human family, and, for this aim, as you know, several times We have written letters of exhortation.

It is known to you, Venerable Brethren, with what zeal and how much spontaneous and unanimous approval the Christian people everywhere have answered Our invitation. It has been magnificently testified many times by the great demonstration of faith and love towards the august Queen of Heaven, and above all, that manifestation of universal joy which, last year, Our eyes had the pleasure to behold, when, in St. Peter's Square, surrounded by an immense multitude of believers, We solemnly proclaimed the Assumption into Heaven of the Virgin Mary.

The recollection of these things comes back pleasantly to Us and encourages Us to trust firmly in Divine Mercy. However, at present, We do not lack reasons for the profound sorrow which torments and saddens Our paternal heart.

CONDITION OF TIMES

You know well, Venerable Brethren, the sad conditions of our times. Fraternal union among nations, broken for such a long time, has not yet been re-established everywhere. Everywhere we see souls upset by hatred and rivalry, while threats of new, bloody conflicts still hover over the peoples. To this, one must add the violent form of persecution, which, for a long time, has been unleashed against the Church, saddening it very cruelly with calumnies and miseries of all kinds, making the blood of martyrs flow again.

To what and to how many snares are the souls of so many of Our sons submitted in those areas to make them reject the Faith of their fathers, and to make them break, with the utmost disgrace, the tie of union which

links them to this Apostolic See. Nor can We pass over in silence a new crime to which, with utmost sorrow, We want earnestly to draw not only your attention, but the attention of the clergy, of parents, and even of public authorities. We refer to the iniquitous campaign that the impious lead everywhere to harm the shining souls of the children. Not even the innocent age has been spared. On the contrary, audacious efforts are unfortunately made to snatch, with a gesture, from the mystical garden of the Church even the most beautiful flowers, which constitute the hope of religion and society. Considering this, one cannot be surprised if peoples groan under the weight of the Divine punishment, and live under the nightmare of even greater calamities.

However, consideration of a situation so pregnant with dangers must not depress your souls, O Venerable Brethren. Instead, that Divine teaching: "Ask and it shall be given to you; seek, and you shall find; knock, and it shall be opened to you" (Luke 11,9) spontaneously raises your hearts with greater hope towards the Mother of God. There the Christian people have always sought refuge in the hour of danger, because "she has been constituted the cause of salvation for the whole human race" (St. Irenaeus).

In the light of the above, we look forward with joyful expectation and revived hope to the coming month of October, during which the faithful flock in larger numbers to the churches to raise their supplications to Mary by means of the Holy Rosary.

ADEQUATE MEANS

O Venerable Brethren, We desire that this prayer should be offered with such greater fervor of heart as is demanded by the increased urgency of the need. We well know the Rosary's powerful efficacy to obtain the material aid of the Virgin. By no means is there only one way to pray to obtain this aid. However, We consider the Holy Rosary the most convenient and adequate means, as is clearly suggested by the very origin of this practice and of its nature more divine than human. What prayers are more fitting and more beautiful than the Lord's Prayer and the Angelic Salutation, which are the flowers with which this mystical crown is formed? Adding to the vocal prayers meditation on the Sacred Mysteries, there emerges another very great advantage, that all, even the most simple and least educated, have in this a prompt and easy way to feed and keep their own faith.

And truly, from frequent meditation on the Mysteries, the soul draws and imperceptibly absorbs the virtues they contain, and lights up with extraordinary hope of the immortal virtues, and becomes strongly and easily impelled to follow the path which Christ Himself and His Mother have followed. The recitation of identical formulas, repeated so many times, rather than rendering the prayer sterile and boring, has on the contrary the admirable quality of infusing confidence in him who prays and makes a sweet compulsion toward the maternal heart of Mary.

Endeavor with particular care, O Venerable Brethren, that the Faithful, on the occasion of the coming month of October, should perform this rite

with the utmost possible zeal, and that the Holy Rosary become always more esteemed and more diligently recited.

Through your effort, the Christian people should be led to understand the excellence, the value and the salutary efficacy of the Rosary.

But it is above all in the bosom of the family that We desire the custom of the Holy Rosary to be everywhere adopted, religiously preserved and ever more intensely practiced. In vain is a remedy sought for the wavering fate of civil life, if the family, the principle and foundation of the human community, is not brought back to the norms of the Gospel.

To undertake such a difficult duty, We affirm that the recitation of the Holy Rosary is a most efficacious means. What a sweet sight—most pleasing to God—when, at eventide, the Christian home resounds with the frequent repetition of the praises to honor the Queen of Heaven! Then the Rosary, recited in common, assembles before the image of the Virgin, in an admirable union of hearts, the parents and their children, who come back from their daily work. It unites them piously with those absent and those dead. It links them more tightly in a sweet bond of love with the most Holy Virgin, who, like a loving mother, will come among her children bestowing upon them an abundance of gifts of concord and family peace.

Then the home of the Christian family, like that of Nazareth, will become an earthly abode of sanctity, and a temple where the Holy Rosary will not only be the particular prayer which every day rises to Heaven in an odor of sweetness, but will also form the most efficacious school of Christian life. This meditation on the Divine Mysteries of the Redemption will teach the adults to live, admiring daily the shining examples of Jesus and Mary, and to draw from these examples comfort in adversity, striving towards those heavenly treasures "where neither thief draws near, nor moth destroys" (Luke 12,33). This meditation will bring to the knowledge of the little ones the main truths of the Faith, making love for the Redeemer blossom almost spontaneously in their innocent hearts, while, seeing their parents kneeling before the majesty of God, they will learn from their very early years how great is the value of prayers said in common.

We do not hesitate to affirm again publicly that We put great confidence in the Holy Rosary for the healing of evils which afflict our times. Not with force, not with arms, not human power, but with Divine help obtained through the means of this prayer, strong like David with his sling, the Church undaunted shall be able to confront the infernal enemy, repeating to him the words of the young shepherd: "Thou comest to me with a sword, and a spear, and with a shield; but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of Hosts, the God of armies . . . and all this assembly shall know that the Lord saveth not with sword and spear, for this is his battle, and he will deliver you into our hands" (I Kings 17, 45-47).

ARDOR OF CHARITY

For this reason, We earnestly desire, Venerable Brethren, that all the faithful, following your example and your inspiration, should respond solicitously to Our paternal exhortation, uniting their hearts and their

voices with the same ardor of charity. If the evils and the assaults of the wicked increase, so likewise must the zeal of all good people increase and become ever more vigorous. Let them strive to obtain from our most loving Mother, especially through the means of the Holy Rosary, that better times may quickly return for the Church and society.

The very powerful Mother of God, moved by the prayers of so many of her sons, should obtain from her own Child—we all beseech her—that those who have been miserably led astray from the path of truth and virtue should, renewed in their souls, find it again. Grant us that hatred and rivalry, the sources of discord and every sort of mishap, should finally calm down, and that a true, just and genuine peace should shine again upon individuals, families, peoples and nations. Grant that, finally, after the rights of the Church are secured, as is just, the beneficent influence deriving from her and penetrating without obstacle the hearts of men, social classes and the arteries of public life, may join people among themselves in brotherhood and lead them to the prosperity which regulates, defends and coordinates the rights and duties of all and establishes itself ever more for mutual and common collaboration.

UNHAPPY LIVES

Venerable Brethren and beloved sons, while running your fingers over the beads of the Rosary, do not forget those who languish miserably in prison camps, jails and concentration camps. There are among them, as you know, also Bishops dismissed from their sees solely for having heroically defended the sacred rights of God and the Church. There are sons, fathers and mothers, wrested from their homes and compelled to lead unhappy lives far away in unknown lands and strange climates.

As We embrace them with that particular charity which derives from the Christian religion, unite your prayers before the altar of the Virgin Mother of God and recommend them to her motherly heart. She doubtless will, with exquisite sweetness, revive in their hearts the hope of eternal reward and will not fail to hasten the end of so much sorrow, as We firmly believe.

We do not doubt that you, O Venerable Brethren, with your usual burning zeal will bring to the knowledge of your clergy and people these Our paternal exhortations in a way which will appear most appropriate to you. We feel certain that our sons throughout the world will respond earnestly to this Our invitation.

To all of you, to the flock entrusted to each of you and particularly to those who especially during the month of October will recite devoutly the holy Rosary according to Our intentions, We impart from the fullness of Our heart the Apostolic Blessing.

Issued in Rome, near St. Peter's, the 15th day of September, the Feast of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary, in the year 1951, the 13th of Our pontificate.

Archangel Gabriel, Patron of Tele-communications

Apostolic Brief published January 12, 1951.

EVERY good gift and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of Lights . . ." (James 1,17). To the Wisdom of God, then, our tribute of admiration is due for those many inventions of modern science which make it possible for men to use electric energy to communicate with one another from a distance. Admirable is the Divine Wisdom which empowers them to telegraph their messages to the absent at a moment's notice; to converse by long-distance telephone; to broadcast their information over the ether waves; to picture, lastly, on the television screen before their eyes what actually is happening far away.

Technical instruments of this kind, it is true, can do a great deal of harm if they are not put to use with honest intent. But just as clearly they can render precious service in many ways when properly employed. They may promote the brotherhood of man and human culture. They may contribute to the spread of the liberal arts, and of scientific research throughout the world. They may even serve to impart religious instruction, to carry the voice of the Supreme Pastor of souls from St. Peter's to the farthest corners of the earth, and to unite in wondrous manner the hearts and minds and voices of the faithful everywhere in public prayer to the Divine Majesty.

That will explain why Holy Mother Church has never for an instant opposed the development of this widespread practice. Nay, she has been at pains to foster, stimulate and protect it in the fullest measure possible, and still continues to do so. She has, indeed, good reason to know that every truth, every new scientific discovery must be welcomed as one more trace, as it were, of the Divine Intelligence, and one more token of the power of God.

We believe it to be most opportune, therefore, that these marvelous professions, with their technical staffs and assistants, should enjoy the advantage of a heavenly blessing and a supernatural protection all their own. In fact, now that an appreciable number of professional men, distinguished in the field of tele-communications, have petitioned Us, for themselves and their associates, to designate Saint Gabriel Archangel—who brought to the human race, when it was wrapped in darkness and almost in despair of its salvation, the long-awaited announcement of man's Redemption—as their heavenly Patron before the throne of God, We have decided to comply with their request in a matter of such immense importance. This We do most heartily, in view of the fact that the petition expresses Our own intimate feeling as well, and is in perfect consonance with Our own desires.

Wherefore, after conferring with Our venerable Brother Clement Micara, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Bishop of Velletri and Pro-Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and giving careful consideration to

the whole matter, of Our certain knowledge and mature deliberation, and in the fullness of Our Apostolic power:

We do now, by virtue of these Letters, appoint and proclaim Saint Gabriel Archangel to be henceforth and forever the Heavenly Patron before God of the above professions and their members, with all of the liturgical honors and privileges to which principal Patrons of their type are entitled. Anything to the contrary notwithstanding.

This We do order and establish, with the understanding that these present Letters are, and are to remain, unalterable, valid and effective, and to produce and obtain their full and integral effect, that they may now and in the future be used to the fullest extent in favor of those to whom they may or shall concern; that they are thus to be judged and interpreted; and that any attempt on the part of anyone, on any authority whatsoever, knowingly or unknowingly to deal with them otherwise, is henceforth rendered null and void.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the ring of the Fisherman, on the twelfth day of January in the year one thousand nine hundred and fifty-one, the twelfth of Our Pontificate.

POPE PIUS XII



Manifesto to the American People

Statement issued at the conclusion of the MacArthur hearings by the Senate Committees on Foreign Relations and Armed Services, June 27, 1951.

FOR the past seven weeks the Senate Committees on Armed Services and Foreign Relations have assiduously examined into the facts and circumstances bearing on the relief of Gen. Douglas MacArthur and on American policy in the Far East.

At a critical juncture in their affairs, the American people had become deeply concerned and sorely confused over events in the Far East. Long pent emotions erupted with the removal from command of an able and brilliant military leader.

When the need for counsel appears imperative, the American people take counsel through their Congress. In this instance, these committees, as an agent of Congress, assumed the responsibility of serving as the medium for informing the people on the formu-

lation of policies and the conduct of operations.

Our Government is one which depends for existence upon the conclusions of an enlightened people. The exhaustive record of our proceedings bears testimony to our faith in our democratic system. This hearing sprang from this concept which we hold to be inherent in our very form of Government.

The inquiry has pushed to its very limits a principle to which the American people jealously cling—the right of every man to say what he thinks. In the fullest light of day we have weighed before the world our motives, our doubts, the sources of our strength and of our weakness. From the transcript of our proceedings, momentous counsels taken among ourselves have gone to both our friends and enemies. Such

a hearing involves risks, but it also involves rights, and it is the rights which have made the risks inevitable.

To those critics of our form of government who contend that public discussion of such matters creates dissent and breeds confusion, we have a simple answer. Those who are still privileged to breathe the air of freedom utilize such discussion as a means to temper the steel of national determination and unity.

Every informed and patriotic American will agree that there is present in the world a force, an ideology, which seeks to subvert democracy everywhere and degrade man to the role of slave of the state.

No one would deny that when the object of public enlightenment is sought precisely in the area of military strategy, there is a risk of aiding our enemies. Recognizing this danger, the committees have followed procedures carefully designed to minimize the risk without withholding essential information. Wherever testimony appeared valuable chiefly to a present or potential enemy, the nation's security has been our paramount concern.

We do not deny that the record compiled is replete with discord and disagreement. We could not conceal this fact and we would scorn to do so if we could. Those who have appeared before us have spoken in forceful terms. Out of their words have appeared disagreements as to policies and a division of opinion as to the course which should have been followed. Some of their criticisms have been harsh and they have spared no one, including themselves. These men spoke strongly because they felt strongly. They differed because they saw things differently and had the courage to say so.

It has been asserted that the cleavages made evident by these hearings

have caused confusion at home, dismayed and frightened the free people we hold as friends and has lent encouragement to those who would destroy us.

We believe that our democracy has the vitality to withstand any strains that reflect the tensions of an uneasy world. We are convinced that an open discussion of such differences brings strength and unity of purpose. To the American people we assert these differences in no wise alter the fact that our great objective is still to live within the family of nations as a free people.

The nation will take the record of the hearings. We will study it. We will draw conclusions. We will not all be together on those conclusions. We may differ on the proper policy to be applied in the Far East. We may separate on questions of strategy. We may divide on personalities.

But we will be united in our devotion to liberty and justice, be single-minded in our will to preserve our institutions. We hope they may be preserved in peace, but preserve them we shall. We will be together in the defense of our way of life against any alien aggressor.

These hearings have increased our faith in our strength and in our ability. Mistakes may add to the measure of our sacrifices or change the form of the ordeal we may be called upon to endure, but come what may America has the means and the will to enable us to survive. Strengthened by this conviction, let us reject all counsels of defeatism and despair.

TO THE FREE NATIONS

We would also reassure the people of the free world beyond our boundaries—all of those determined not to be enslaved by Communist aggression.

We can understand how even those

people whose institutions are most akin to ours may have been concerned over the public discussion into our policies and strategies. The differences of opinion revealed may have raised fateful questions in their mind. Among those peoples less familiar with our system of government, what we have done here may have produced alarm. The rights we casually take for granted are sometimes not understood by those unfamiliar with our traditional methods.

But the free world has no cause for dismay. The fact that we do not always speak with a single voice does not mean that we have weakened in our united purpose. The objectives of the people of the United States are unchanged by anything that has transpired during this ordeal of controversy. We are unshaken in our determination to defend ourselves and to cooperate to the limit of our capabilities with all of those free nations determined to survive in freedom.

TO THE COMMUNIST WORLD

Even as the free world has no reason for dismay, neither should the Communist world be deceived by the searching review given our global strategy. It would be well for those who may con-

template aggression to understand that disagreements among individuals or groups will not deter the American people and their Government from the relentless quest for our ultimate security.

The goal of our people and their Government is a permanent world peace. The method by which that goal may be obtained has been, and will continue to be, the subject of disagreement in our democratic society. But if need be, we stand united in readiness to defend ourselves and to cooperate with like-minded peoples against whatever forces may threaten world peace or our historic freedoms.

If those who threaten us take only a tyrant's lesson from differences among free men and mistake the temper of our people, they can plunge the world into war. But it would be a war they could never win and which would bring them to ultimate destruction.

The issues which might divide our people are far transcended by the things which unite them. If threatened danger becomes war, the aggressor would find at one stroke arrayed against him the united energies, the united resources, and the united devotion of all the American people.



Birthday of Life

Dearly beloved, our Saviour is born today. Let us rejoice. Every nook of our hearts should be cleared of gloom when we commemorate the birthday of Life. For He is the Life Who withers the fear of death and makes us jubilant at the prospect of life everlasting.

All of us have the same reason for rejoicing, since all of us have been liberated from the sinful guilt with which our Lord, the conqueror of sin and death, found us tainted. Let, therefore, the faithful exult because they are drawing closer to final victory. Let sinners rejoice because they are invited to ask pardon. Let pagans take heart because they are called to a new kind of life.—*Pope St. Leo the Great, First Christmas Sermon.*

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EDITORIAL OFFICE: 329 West 108th St., New York 25, N. Y.

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BUSINESS OFFICE: 70 East 45th St., New York 17, N. Y.

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